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Vol. V. Part II.

5049

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore.

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore with 7 plates.

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,
Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

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State Museum Library Lucknow
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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Kēraḷapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttaḷakkuruchchi, a village of Paralkōṭṭu-dēśam in Śeṅgaḷunīr-vaḷanāḍu which was itself a sub-division of Teṉṉāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (=A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēraḷēśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēraḷapuram *alias* Muttaḷaikkuṟuchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēraḷavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; *i. e.*, in all probability, either of the two Vēṇāḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷapuram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (=A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulaśēkhara who constructed its *nālambalam*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the Aṟṟūr plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēṭṭai-tirunāḷ) is known from his Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammai-Rāṇi, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam and the Kīḻappērur-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttūṇ* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttūṇ*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevelly temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśēkhara and Chēramāṉ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive peirs. Kulaśēkhara, the staunch Vaishṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Vishṇu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Ṛishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Ṛishabha* is transformed into *iḻapa* and *iḻchapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *ḻa* for *sha* as in *śēḻam* for *śēsham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamiḻ rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ṛi*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *īśāna* which can reasonably change into *īyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēśam*, has here become *īyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kaṉṉi-mūlai*) of the *Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nīlammaikuṭṭi, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Ichchakkuṭṭi, who belonged to the *mūttakuḍi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādēva at this village of Kēraḷapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṉ-Ayyappaṉ of Parakōḍu-dēśam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Śeṇbagamāttāṇḍakuṭṭi, daughter of Nallāṉpiḷḷaiperṟal of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāchchiyār of Vilavūr-dēśam, made on the same day.

A[1]

On the west base of the Ṛishabha-maṇḍapa.

1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் எ௱அ௰உ ஷு சித்திரை மீ ௬உ
2 நயினார் முத்தலைக்குறிச்சியில் ஸ்ரீவிரகெரளெச்சொரத்து[2] மா-
3 தெவர் கொயிலில் இழ்சபமண்டகத்தில் வடமெலெமூலையில்
4 செர(ம்)மான்[3] பெருமாளும் சுந்தரப்பெருமாளும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

2 Read ஸ்ரீவிரகெரளெஸ்வரத்து.

3 Expressed by a symbol ரூ.

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5 உருத்தாஸ் செய்விச்ச ஷ மாதெவர்கொயிலில் தானக்கணக்கு-
6 டைய திருமுகமெழுத்து பரக்கொட்டு தெசத்து கணக்கு[1] அய்யன்[2] அய்
யன் சதாசெவை [||*]

B[3]

On the same base.

1 எா அ௰உ ௵ சித்திரை கூஉ நயினார் கெர(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கன்-
3 னிமூலையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமாள்[5] உருதாண் செய்-
4 வித்த மாதெவர் கொயிலில் முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகள் நீலம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 ம் ஈச்சகுட்டி மகள் மாதம்மயும் சதாசெவை [||*]

C[10]

On the east base of the same maṇḍapa.

1 எா அ௰உ ௵ சித்திரை ௴ கூ உ கெரளபுரத்து இஷபமண்டகத்தில்
2 ஈயாந்த[4] மூலையில் இளையபெருமாள்[4] உருத்தாண்[6] ஷ கொயிலில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு[7] அய்யப்பன்[1] அய்யப்பன் பெண்சாதி [8]சுசிந்திரமுடைய நயி-
னார்
4 கொயிலில் சிறப்பு[9] மிகல் நல்லாம்பிள்ளைப்பெற்றாள்
5 மகள் செம்பகமாத்தாண்டக்குட்டி செய்விச்சது ச(ா)தாசெவை ஹரி
[||*]

D[11]

On the same base.

1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் எா அ௰அ ௵
2 சித்திரை ௴ கூஉ நயினார் கெரளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்கிழக்கு மூ-
4 லையில் சிராமன் உருத்தாண் செய்வித்த விலவூர்
5 தெசத்து வித்திருந்த நாச்சியார் மகள் நாச்சியார் சதாசெவை ஹரி [||*]

---

1 Expressed by a symbol ஆஆ.
2 Epressed by a symbol.
3 This is registered as No. 55 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.
4 It ought to be ஈசான.
5 Expressed by a symbol ரு.
6 ,, உரு.
7 ,, க்கு.
8 Read சுசீந்திரமுடைய.
9 The name சிறப்பு மிகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple i.e, for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple menial service.
10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.
11 ,, No. 58 of the same collection.

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No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāmavarman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty[1]. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse[2] by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇasāram.* The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅgōḷūr called also Mahōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgōṟporaiyaṉ, the overlord of Malai-nāḍu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōdaiyār also called by the significant title of Kaḻaṟiṟṟarivār[3] (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvañjaikkaḷam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship[4]. But when Śeṅgōṟporaiyaṉ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarmaṉ*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāṇabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction[5] to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protege. His devotion towards god Naṭarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

1 यद्वंशचेरनृपतिर्मधुरापुरीशपत्रार्पणेन कनकं प्रददावसङ्ख्यम् ।
तत्तन्नवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे निखिलराजकुलप्रदीपः ॥
Bālarāmabharatam, (*T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 109).

2 காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளூர்க்கோக் கழறியவை யறிந்தகோச் சிலம்போசைக்கருத்தார்
நாவலர்கோ னன்பரடிச் சேரனென்றே நவின்றுவரும் வண்ணானை நயந்தகோநற்
பாவலர்கோப் பாணபத் திரனால் வாய்ந்த பரமர்திரு முகம்வாங்கிப் பணிகோவெற்பின்
மேவியகோ வானைக்குக் குதிரைவைத்த வீரர்கோ வெனையாளுஞ் சேரர்கோவே.
Tiruttoṇḍar-purāṇa-sāram, v. 42.

3 நினைத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்துயிர் கழறுஞ் சொற்க
ளனைத்தையு மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச் சேரமான்காண்.—*Tiruviḷaiyāḍaṟ-purāṇam.*

4 சீலமிகுமலை நாடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோளூர், சிறந்த செங்கோற் கோதையார் செல்வர் திருவஞ்சையிறை
மெல்லடி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யன்றவ முற.—*Tiruttoṇḍar-śatakam.*

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Padiṉōrāntirumuṟai.*

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hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*poṟśilambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*[1]. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Naṭarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramāṉ and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Poṉvaṇṇattandādi*[2]. He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the head-quarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramāṉṟōḻaṉ', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvañjaikkaḷam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkōvai*[2] in honour of god Valmīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīḻvēḷūr, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumaṟaikkāḍu (Vēdāraṇyam), Paḷaṉam, Agaśtyaṉ-paḷḷi, Kuḷagar-Koḍikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruvāppaṉūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupparaṅguṉṟam, Kuṟṟālam, Kuṟumbalā, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchchuḻiyal, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṉavāyil, Pātāḷēśvaram, Tirukkaṇḍiyūr and Tiruvaiyyāṟu. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēśam and reached Koḍuṅgōḷūr, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tiru-muruganpūṇḍi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉāṟ paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tiru-ppukkoḷiyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch[3] the

1 —நம்பற்கு
காற்சிலம்பின் சந்தணிந்து கண்ணியணிந்து திளங்
காற்சிலம்பு கேட்ட திருக்காதோனும். —*Tiruvārar-ulā.*

2 This is collected in the *Padinōṟāntirumuṟai.*

3 கலையாவுடலோடு சேரமானாரூரன்
விலையாமதமாரு வெள்ளானைமேல் கொள்ள. —*Kōyil-Tiruviśaippa*, v. 4.

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saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramān-Perumāl, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramān-Perumāl gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā*[1] (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māśattanār[2] who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramān-Perumāḷ also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramān-Perumāḷ flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

(i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;

(ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṟanmiṇdar, Kōṭpuliyār, Mānakkañjārar, Ēyarkōn-Kalikkāmanār, Perumiḻalai-Kuṟumbar, and Sōmāśiyar, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;

(iii) the *Tiruviḷaiyādarpurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Bāṇabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and

(iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramān rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇapperumāl, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumuṟai*.

2 *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, see footnote on p. 529.

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alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion[1]. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed[2] to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṉ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Īśo and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṉ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṉ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, one of the *Ashṭavīrattāṇams* and *Saptasthānams*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyāṟu in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanādēśvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease[3]. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr in the Cheṅgaṉṉūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kēraḷa and to have been constructed by Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ[4] himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources[5] that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṉmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyaṉ who was ruling at Koḍuṅgōḷūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Saiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgōṟpoṟaiyaṉ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poṟaiyaṉ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 *et seq.*
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.
3 *Chēramāṉ-Perumāṇāyaṉār-purāṇam*, *vv.* 130-9.
4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 508.
5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol I, p. 290.

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Kōdai being but synonymous with Chēra; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two Chēra kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya contemporaries of Chēramāṉ are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Vaḷavaṉ* and *Teṉṉavaṉ*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the Nāyaṉmār contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that Sundara is mentioned to have been the *protege* of a certain Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ, the chief of Milāḍu, who had his headquarters at Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot District, and Sundara himself refers to a weak Pallava king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the Tirunāvalūr and Tirukkōyilūr inscriptions a few generations of Milāḍu chiefs with names Narasimha and Rāma are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as Sundara's patron.[2] The reference to the Pallava also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of Dantivarman (780-830) in whose later years Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam was invaded from the north by Gōvinda III (804) and on the south by the Pāṇḍya, Varaguṇa Mahārāja[3] (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvilaiyāḍal-purāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god Chokkanātha of Madura places in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viṟagu-viṟṟa-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugam-koḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture Ēmanātha the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard Bhadra, and the latter's deputation to a Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ of Koduṅgōḷūr with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by Parañjōtiyār is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of Bhadra in the reign of a Pāṇḍya king who has the name of Varaguṇa is consistent with the above suppositions relating to Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ and Sundara. We know from reliable sources that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, the grandson of Jaṭila-Parāntaka (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this Pāṇḍya sovereign was a devout Śaiva (bhakta), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming Chēramāṉ to have been this Pāṇḍya's contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Bāṇa-Bhadra episode is also referred to in the *Kallāḍam*; but

1 There have been kings with these names—
Kuṭṭuvaṉ-Kōdai, Mākkodai, Irumboṟai, (*Puṟanāṉūṟu*) and Kannaṉ-Poṟaiyaṉ (*T. A. S* Vol. III).

2 *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4 மன்றலர் தெரியன் மார்பன் வரகுணன் செங்கோலோச்சி
பொன்றலங் காவலனிற் பொலியு நாளேமநாதன் . . . . —*Viṟaguviṟṟa-paḍalam.*
மன்னர்தம்பிரானாகிய வரகுணதேவன்
றன்னை வந்தடிபணிந்தனன்றந்திரிக்கிழவோன்.— *ibid*, v. 58.

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as its author Kallāḍaṉār[1] is, on other grounds,[2] considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṉ to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigaṉ[3] and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ of the *Periyapurāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse[4] popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṉ could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujanga*, *Sivānandalaharī* and *Saundaryalaharī* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhāsyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the Śivabhujaṅga[5] may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Ēyarkōṉ-Kalikkāmaṉāyaṉār, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvoṟṟiyūr episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ-Nāyaṉār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājaśēkhara[6] of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

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1 பரிபுரக்கம்பலை யிருசெவியுண்ணும், குடக்கோச்சேரன் கிடைத்திது காண்கென, மதிமலிபுரிசைத் தி ருமுகங்கூறி, மன்புறத்தரீஇய வின்னிசைப்பாணன், பெறத்தகுகொடுக்கென வறிவுறுத்தருளிய, மா தவர் வழுத்துங் கூடற் கிறைவன் — *Kalladam*, v. 11. *ll.* 25-30

2 *Sendamil*, Vol. XV, p. 107-14.

3 அரும்பார் சோலை சுரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அதிகனில்லிடை அதிகமான் வளர்த்தான் — *Kapilar-agaval*. but this Kapilar is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதுரமொழி நல்லுமையாள் சிறுவன் மலரடியை
முதிரநினைய வல்லார்க்கரிதோ முகில் போல் முழங்கி
சதிரவருகின்ற யானையுந் தேருமதன் பின்வருங்
குதிரையுங் காதங் கிழவியுங் காதங் குலமன்னனே-

5 न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।
तदा हि प्रसन्नोसि कस्यापि कान्तासुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Sivabhujangam*, v.
In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Iyarpagai-Nāyaṉār was intended.

6 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

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In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as Śeṉṉittalaiaḍigaḷ Rājaśēkharaṉ,[1] which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Seṉṉittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*[2].

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words '*Namaśśivāya*' [3] in place of the almost universal '*Svasti-śrī*', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The palæography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṉār and his friend Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājaśēkhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijarāgadēva were known in the records of those districts as *Chēramāṉ* Kōttāṇu-Ravi and *Chēramāṉ* Vijayarāgadēva.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājaśēkhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadgururatnamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmēndra of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *saṭṭaka* which Rājaśēkhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Viddhaśālabhañjika*, *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājaśēkhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara with the nothern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkaravijaya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if Mādhavāchārya. was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L, has, in a learned article in Malayalam[4] attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājaśēkhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulaśēkharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* and *Subhadrādhanañjayam* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchhinnābhhishēka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājakēsarivarman or Māṟavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājarāja-Paramēsvara-Bhaṭṭāraka-*Rājaśēkhara-dēva*, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namaśśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulaśēkhara, the author of the

1 *ibid*, Vol.:II, p. 178.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II.

4 *Bhāshāpōshiṇi* for 1917.

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Mukundamālā and the *Tirumoḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishṇu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājaśēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṉ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ[1] (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirunoḍittāṉmalai-padigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வரமலிவாணன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதோர்
சிரமலியானை தந்தானொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(*v.* 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *padigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்துவான்; ஊனுயிர்வேறுசெய்தான் (*v.* 1)
தொண்டனேனை, யந்தரமால் விசும்பிலழகானையருள் புரிந்த (*v.* 3)
வானநன்னாடர் முன்னே, துஞ்சுதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனேன்பரமல்ல-
தொரு, வெஞ்சினவானை தந்தான் நொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (*v.* 6)
இந்திரன் மால்பிரமன்னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
வந்தெதிர்கொள்ளவென்னை மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து (*v.* 9)

Vāṇaṉ though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaṉ is also a contraction of the word *vāḻnaṉ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivāṇaṉ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *padigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvaḷḷuvar contained in the *Tirukkailāya-jñāna-ula* as *paṇḍaiyōr* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(*a*) கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற்றறியுமைம்புலனு
மொண்டொடிகண்ணேயுளவென்று— பண்டையோர்கட்டுரையை.

(*b*) இல்லாரை யெல்லாருமெள்குவர் செல்வரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வர் சிறப்பென்றுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

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and that he directed god Varuṇa whom he has addressed as 'ஆழிகடலரையாவஞ்-சையப்பர்க்கறிவிப்பதே' in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Añjaikkaḷattappar in the last verse and from the description of Noḍittāṇmalai in verse 7 that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

அலைகடலாலரயனலர் கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்
உலையணையாதவண்ணநொடித்தான்மலையுத்தமனே—(*v.* 7)

one is tempted to locate Noḍittāṇmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Añjaik-kaḷam and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. 'ஆழிகடலரையா' may have been used as an epithet of Añjaikkaḷam that has elsewhere been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kaḍal + araiyaṉ*)? Kailāsanatha's temples are very common in many places and the hill Noḍittāṇmalai, wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sundara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tiru-noḍittāṇmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the super-natural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyajñāna-ulā* of Chēramāṉ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva, who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil*=temple ?) at Śivapuram[2]. The large number of the *āgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him an inconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: *chūlamaṇi*, *paṭṭam*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *kaṇḍigai*, *channavīram*, *kēyūram*, *udarabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṅkaṇam*, *vāchikai*, *kiṅkiṇi*, *mēkhalā*, *hāra* and *jaṭāmakuṭa* among ornaments and *jhallari*, *bhēri*, *karatāḷam*, *maddaḷa* and *dundubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār may, with advantage, be appended here, becuase he was an early king of the Chēra house of Malai-maṇḍalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces its descent from him.

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1 Compare: சந்தித்தடமால்வரைபோற்றிரைகடணியாதிடறுங்கடலங்கரைமே
லந்தித்தலைச்செக்கர்வானேயொத்தியாலணியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 3).
and மழைக்கு நிகரொப்பனவன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம் புரிகொண்
டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையணியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்களத்தப்பனே—(v. 4).

2 சேரர்சிவலோகந்தன்னுட் சிவபுரத்திலேரார் திருக்கோயிலுள்ளிருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyajñānaulā.*

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivapērūr (Trichur) is called Vaḍakkunnātha of the Vrishabhādri Hill.

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The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*[1] of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*[2] of Piṉpaḷagiya-Perumāḷ-Jīyar (14th century), *Upadēsaratnamālā* of Maṇavāḷamāmuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumuḍi-aḍaivu* of Kandāḍaiyappaṉ (14th century) and a few other later Vaishṇava works, which furnish certain traditionary landmarks in the life of Kulaśēkhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vañji (Tiruvañjaikkuḷam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,[3] corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,[4] on the Thursday of the month of Māśi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Vishṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dridhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulaśēkhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprasta's* life, and the new king Kulaśēkhara ascended the ancient Chēra throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Vishṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaishṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Rāvaṇa carried away the helpless Śīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshall out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor[5]. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaishṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the strategem did not work, as Kulaśēkhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaishṇavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूच्चेरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः ।
मह्रीपातर्माघपुनर्वसूद्यद्दिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasuricharitam.*

3 சேரன் குலசேகரராய்க்கொண்டு க்ஷத்ரியவர்ணத்திலே மாசிமாஸத்தில் புனர்பூசநக்ஷத்ரத்தில் வந்தவதரித்தார்
—*Piṉpaḷagiyaperumāḷ Jīyar.*

4 கலி 28 வருஷம் பராவவருஷம் மாசிமீ சுக்லத்வாதசி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை கூடின புனர்வசு நக்ஷத்ரம்
—*Guruparamparāprabhāvam.*

4 वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके ।
श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥
कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम् ।
Prapannāmṛitam.

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्स्मृत श्री.
रामात्मभावसहितस्सगृहीतखड्गः ।
रामायणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-
स्सिन्धुं विवेश कुलशेखरभूमिपो यः ॥
—*Bālarāmabharatam*(*T. A. S.* IV, p. 109).

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containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.[1] The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Dṛiḍhavrata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyiloḻugu*[2] to the effect that after Kali year 50, Kulaśēkara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa, married his daughter Śōḷakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the Sēṇaiveṉrāṉ-maṇḍapa and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the Kulaśēkharaṉ-tiruvīdi. He then visited the holy Vaishṇava temples of Tiruvēṅgaḍam, Tiruvayōdhyā, Tillai-Chitrakūṭam, Tirukkaṇṇapuram, Tirumāliruñjōlai and Tiruviṟṟuvakkōḍu and finally settled down at Brahmadēśam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammāḻvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven.

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versons of the life of the Āḻvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulaśēkhara's period are Nammāḻvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukkūr on the one hand, and Tirumangaimaṉṉaṉ, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaishṇava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Āḻvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I[3] (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Teṭṭarundiral* (the second *Tirumoḻi*) in the Śrīraṅgam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōḷa-Kēraḷadēva[3] (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Āḻvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulaśēkhara from a determination of the time of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār,[4] who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830)and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammāḻvār,[5] his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulaśēkhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாம்பிலங்கையிட்டான் வாழியே.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401; but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1900 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tirunedundāṇḍakam*.

4 *Tamiḻ varalāṟu*, p. 128.

5 *History of Vaishṇavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion[1] that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by restrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulaśēkhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*[2] which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmallapuram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araiśūr in Toṇḍaināḍu,[3] Kulaśēkhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulaśēkhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Śendamiḻ*[4] has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sāṟṟukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the Āḻvārs need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyiraprabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi,* the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervarding the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Vēṅgaḍam[5] cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulaśēkhara of a muderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulaśēkhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumoḻi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sāṟṟukkavis* of the *Prabandham,* it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumoḻi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 மல்லைமாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னை
வான் செலுத்தி வந்திங்கணை மாயத்து
எல்லையில் பிள்ளை செய்வன காணாத்
தெய்வத் தேவகி புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லிகாவலன் மாலடிமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
நல்லிசைத்தமிழ் மாலைவல்லார்கள்
நண்ணுவார் ஒல்லைநாரணனுலகே

—*Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*, VII. 11,

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumoḻi*, IV, 2.

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to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almostly jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Kṛishṇa which was denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Kṛishṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Krishṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvardhanagiri, Vrishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtanā, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself; and the Āḻvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Kṛishṇa on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmallapuram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kaṁsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagaram = the prosperous city—of athletes?)[1]. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulaśēkhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai (மல்லைமாநகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னைவான் செலுத்திவந்தீங்கணை) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child[6] (மாயத்து எல்லையில் பிள்ளை) rather than Kulaśēkhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Kṛishṇa actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணனே! . . . இளமையின்பத்தை இன்று என்தன் கண்ணாற்பருகுவேற்கு இவன் தாயென நினைந்த அளவில்! If ஈங்கணை should refer to Kulaśēkhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Kṛishṇa in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Kṛishṇa's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kaṇṇapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Viṟṟuvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoḻi* or Daśaratha's Lament[2] is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Piḷḷaipperumāḷ Ayyangār makes use of the pun on the word *Mallai* = athletes and *Mahāmalla*-puram in the verse:

செறிந்தபணைபலித்துத் திண்களிற்றைச் சாடி
முறிந்துவிழப்பாகனையுமோதி—யெறிந்து
தருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குமைத்தான்றஞ்சமென்று நெஞ்சே
இருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குட்டிரி

—*Nuṟṟettutiruppati-andādi*, v. 93.

But Kulaśēkhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

2 ஏரார்ந்தகருநெடுமாலிராமனாய்
வனம்புக்க அதனுக்கு ஆற்று
தாரார்ந்த தடவரைத்தோள் தயரதன் தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புலம்பல் தன்னை
கூரார்ந்த வேல் வலவன் கோழியர் கோன்
குடைக் குலசேகரன் சொற்செய்த
சீரார்ந்த தமிழ்மாலை இவை வல்லார்
தீநெறிக்கண் செல்லார்தாமே

—*Tirumoḻi*, IX. 11.

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half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulaśēkhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வான்செலுத்தி) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Guḍimallam and Tiruchchānūr[1].

From the *Travancore State Manual*[2] we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭātiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruviḷakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhishṭiravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi *alias* Śrīkaṇṭha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*[3] has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other *kāvya* called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses[4] of the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* in the Kāvyamālā Series, No. 60.

काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव अस्योपरि काश्मीरिकराजानकरत्नकण्ठकृतैव व्याख्या समुपलब्धा ॥

4 अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुगजराजगती ।
भीषणमाधिकं कवयः स्तुवन्ति जन्य यदियमाधिकंकवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणश्शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

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author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśēkhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmī and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmans, who was called a *tilaka* (by pandits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvyas*, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishṭhira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulaśēkharavarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions :—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकगीतौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pāraśava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author[1]. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishṭhiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi[2]; and its commentator, a certain Nīlakaṇṭha (*c.* 13th century) has also identified this **रविभूः** with Vāsudēva himself[3]. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulaśēkhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi and the *pāṇaṉ* Tiruppāṇāḻvār; and quote also 'ஆடிப்பாடி அரங்காவோ! என்றழைக்கும் தொண்டரடிப்பொடி, ஆடநாம் பெறில் கங்கைநீர் குடைந்தாடும் வேட்கை என்னாவதே (II, 3) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपद्मचरावभूताम् and *Brihatstōtra-muktāhāra* has कविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपार्श्वचरावभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् —*Tripuradahanam.*

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिदानः ।
निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥ —Nīlakaṇṭha's *commentary.*

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poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishṭhiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulaśēkhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoḻi*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśēkhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishṭhiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*[1] and *Subhadrādhanañjayam*[2] published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulaśēkharavarman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahōdayapura, (Koḍuṅgōḻur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Āścharyamañjarī*[3]. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Vishṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharataväkya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has deen drawn by scholars[4] that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśēkhara were identical: and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśēkhara who was later on canonised as an Aḻvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājaśēkhara,[5] who may be the same as the author of *Bālarāmayaṇam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśēkhara's *Aścharyamañjarī;* and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avantivarman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kāḷidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulaśēkhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatīsamvaraṇam* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśēkhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i.e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळचूडामणेर्महोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

2 तपतीसंवरणघटनापटुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराशिपेशलकैदारिककेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्धनमद्य बध्नाति बुधहृदयम् । —*Subhadrādhanañjayam.*

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपंकेरुहपांसुपटलपवित्रीकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनायान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलद् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

4 Introduction to the Tapatisamvaraṇam in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series.*
Archæological Report for 1096 M. E.
Bhāshāpōshiṇi for 1917.

5 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥ —Rājaśēkhara in *Sūktimuktāvaḷī.*

6 शूद्रककालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिदं निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatīsamvaraṇam.*

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date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*[1] considered to have been made by Sumati (?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-maṅgalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśēkhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested[2] that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśēkhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

ध्वनियुक्ताव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।
एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥,

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyālōka viz.*, काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः । ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇam* occurs a verse[3] where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds coolnectarrays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālajalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravimaṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, Akālajalada can be taken to be a synonym for Akālavarsha, we know that it was a title borne by three Rāshṭrakūta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. *viz.*, Krishṇa I (A. D. 750), Krishṇa II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthāṇu-Ravi and the Chōḷa Aditya, and Krishna III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōdai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-maṇḍalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthāṇu-Ravi or of Chōḷa Āditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōḷas (*Solar* dynasty) by Krishṇa III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.[4] If the first significance was intended, Kulaśēkhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*, p. 4.

2 *Bhāshāpōshiṇi*, for 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीयानांशुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भोः सौदमनीवल्लभ !
लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्तं कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां कन्धरां द्राघयन्तम् ।
त्वं प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूर्मेघ ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ – V. 11.

4 *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 229.

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perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Sthāṇu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulaśēkhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Āḻvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Krishṇa II—Akālavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōdaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgadēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āditya I at the end of the 9th century. Sthāṇu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āditya I, and princess Nīlī, the daughter of Vijayarāgadēva who must have succeeded Sthāṇu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulaśēkhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājaśēkhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āścharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājaśēkhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyālōka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulaśēkhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulaśēkhara anterior to Indu-Kōdaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgadēva was a certain Kulaśēkharadēva and it is

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.
2 „ Vol. III, p. 162
3 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.
4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.
5 *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 141.
6 *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 144.

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possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśēkhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name.	Approximate dates.
Rājaśēkharadēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara)	800–825
Kulaśēkharavarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara-Āḻvār, (the author of *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoḻi*)	825–850
Rāma (of *Tripuradchana Śaurikathōdaya* and *Nalōdaya*)	850–870
Sthāṇu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870–900
Vijayarāgadēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900–935
Kulaśēkharavarman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-Kōdaivarman (latest regnal year 16)	955–971
Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulaśēkhara-Chakravarti	1089–1102

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[2]E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa.

1 எ௱ அ௰உ ஷு
2 சித்திரை மீ ம ௬
3 வ உரு த்தாண்
4 செய்வித்த கெ-
5 ரளபுரத்து மாதெ-
6 வர் கொயிலில்
7 தானத்தாரில் மெ-
8 ச்செரி தெவன்
9 திருவிக்கிரமன்
10 சதா செவை-

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1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H.G J, —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.]

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F

On another pillar.

1 எா அ௰௨ ௵ சித்தி-
2 ரை ௴ சுவ
3 சித்திரகண்ட-
4 ம் உருத்தூண்
5 செய்வித்தான்
6 பாக்காமங்கல-
7 ம் தெசத்து
8 இச்சுவரன்
9 கொதை ச
10 தாசெவை-

G

On a third pillar.

1 எா அ௰௨ ௵ சி-
2 த்திரை ௴ சுவ உ-
3 ருத்தூண் செய்-
4 வித்த தானகண-
5 க்கு அய்யப்பன்[2] அய்யப்பன்
6 வகைக்கு பறக்ல-
7 கயில் வளத்து ந-
8 வாக்கும் பெருமாள்
9 திருவாழ் மாற்[ப*]ன்
10 சதாசெவை-

H

On a fourth pillar.

1 எா அ௰௨ ௵ சித்தி-
2 ரை௴ம் சுவ சித்தி-
3 ரகண்டம் உரு
4 த்தூண் செய்வித்த
5 விலஞூர் தெசத்து
6 கணக்கு[2] அய்யப்பன் இரவி
7 சதாசெவை

I

On a fifth pillar.

1 எா அ௰௨ ௵ சித்-
2 திரை மாதம் சுவ
3 செவித்த[1] கண்-
4 டம் உருத்தூண்
5 பாலைக்கொடு
6 தெசத்து கணக்கு[2]
7 பாப்பன் பாப்பன்
8 சதாசெவை

J

On a sixth pillar.

1 எா
2 அ௰௨
3 ௵ சி-
4 த்திரை
5 ௴ம் சு-
6 வ ராசரா-
7 சப்ப-
8 ள்ளி
9 நாராயணன்[2]
10 சங்கரன் ஆளா-
11 ய திருப்பலி கணக்கு[2]
12 எழுத்துப்பணி
13 செய்விக்கையு-
14 ம் செய்கையில் உரு-
15 த்தூண் செய்வி-
16 த்த திருப்பன்றிப்பா-
17 க்கத்து பெரு[2]மான்
18 சிவனடியான்
19 சதாசெவை

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1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

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No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.[1]

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Krishṇaṇkōyil, a suburb of Kēraḷapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayāppiḷḷai-Ariyakuṭṭi to the temples of Kṛishṇa-viṇṇavar-Emberumāṉ and Kulaśēkara-Vināyakapiḷḷaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayiṉār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śiṟaivāymūtta-Tambirāṉār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Śeṭṭu Vēlāyuda-perumāḷ residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ-perunderuvu' of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśēkhara-Viṉāyakappiḷḷaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

சகாத்தம் ௧௬௱௩௰௩ ன் மெல் செல்-
லாநின்ற கொல்லம் ௮௱௮௰௭ ஷு ஆவணி
ஸ்ரீ ௨௨ சென்ற திங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
ம் பூறுவபக்கிழத்து திறுதிகையும் ஆணைக்கரணமும்
சாத்தஸித்தியயொகமும் பெற்ற இன்னாளால் மலை-
மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவன்ம-
ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமாள் பெருங்தெருவில்-
ச் செட்டு வெலாயுதப்பெருமாள் தம்பிராங்தொழனெ-
ன் என் காரணவன் சிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
யகுட்டி முன் ௸யூரில் கொவிலும் கெட்டிவி-
த்து நயினர் இரவிபுரத்து ஸ்ரீ கிட்டிண விண்-
ணவ ரென்பெருமாளையும் ௸ கொவிலில் வ-
டக்கேயிடத்தில குலசெகரவினயகப்பிள்ளை-
யாரையும் கற்ப்பகத்துப்பொற்றியைக் கொண்டு
பிறதிட்டையும் செய்வித்து சலைசமுமாடிவித்து
௸ நயினருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமக்-
காரம் அத்தாளம் முத்தாளம் வைச்சு நெய்-
வெத்தியம் வகைக்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு ஆ ௰௨ உரி
ஆக ௲க ச்கு ஆ உா ப ௫௯ க்கு ௫ உ வித
ம் ௱௫௱௲ ப எ ௯ உரி ம் ௸ நயினருக்கு மாதவி
செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வகைக்குப் படி-
த்தரத்தின்படி உள்ள செலவும் சாந்தியுடை-

1 This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

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23 மக்கு ப-ம் கக்கு ஊ உளஎப நு௦ ௸ கொவில்-
24 ச் சன்னதியில் கிராமக்காரர் உடமையும்
[இதுவும் இதுக்கடுத்த தெக்குமதிலிலும் பார்க்கவும்]

Second panel.

25 சங்கூத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மத்தளம் கைமணி வகக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
டி உள்ள சொறு நிக்கி ப-ம் கக்கு உட-
26 மை ஊ களகூ ப ௲ உரிம் நாகசுரம் ஒத்து வகக்கு ப-ம் கக்கு உடமை
ஊ களஙப ம் கோதை மகள் வள்ளி உள்-
27 ளிட்டாரும் குமரை மகள் ஆவிடை உள்ளிட்டாரும் தாணுவை மகள் நா-
கா உள்ளிட்டாரும் ஆக முறை
28 க்குடி மூந்நுக்குப் படித்தரத்தின் படி உள்ள சொறு நீக்கி ப-ம் கக்கு
ஊ ௰௰ ம் ௸ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-
29 க்குக் கல்மடமும் கெட்டிவித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
ந்தருழிச்சு உ-
30 மையொருபாக முதலியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடிவித்து ௸ பிள்ளை-
யாருக்கு நாளொ-
31 ன்றுக்கு வைத்து நெய்வெத்தியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ப-ம் க்கு ஆ ௰நுஉ க்கு
ஊ ஙப ம் நந்தவனம் திருமாலை
32 கெட்டு வகக்கு ௸ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ப-ம் கக்கு உட
மை ஊ களஙப ம் ௸ மடத்தில் நி-
33 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுது கொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பல-
34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும் பலசெலவுக்கும் மூன் எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
யத்தின்படி உள்ள ஊ
35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழெக கட்டிலை திருவிளக் கெண்ணெ மாதவிசேஷம்
ஆட்டவிசேஷம்
36 மற்றும் பலவக செலவுக்கும் கூட விச்சுவபூறுவ தன்மதானப் பிறமாண-
மாக மூன் எழுதிவை-
37 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உள்ள நிலமும் புரையெடமுமாவிது [।*] மூன்
அளஙயவுஙு வைகாசி மீ ௰சுஉ நயி-
38 னூர் இரவி இரவிவற்மராய சிறவாய்மூத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
கல்ப்பித்த நளி ௸ கிட்டிணனுக்கும் பிள்ளையா-
39 ருக்கும் பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட வகக்கு ௸ சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டிக்குக்
கொடுத்த திருமுகத்தின்படி அஞ்சாலி மெ-
40 ல்வாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமாவிது [।*] நாஞ்சினாட்டு வடசெரியில் இராசராச-
பெரெரிக்குளத்தின் கீள் நீராகரம சிதம்ப-
41 ரனாதன் புளளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல் கண்ணாறு
நெல்மாரி ௸ ம-
42 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக ௸ புள்-
ளியில் தடி . . . . .
43 பண்டாரம் பனையறை ஆன . . . புள்ளியில் ௸ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
இரண்டாங் கண்ணாறு சாலியன் வய-

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44 ல் கிகூ அஙகபம் இசுவரன் காளி புள்ளியில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமரக்-
கால் தடிகூ . . . . . . ம கடுக்கரையில் அரியகுட்டி

45 இரவி புள்ளியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெல் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிகூ . . . .
நிலம் . . . ல் . . உள்க்கால் தடி

46 கவ . . . . . ||| ஙகூர் உ . . . . கூ ||| . . . ம உ . . . . ம் குறி தடிகூ . .
. ம் . . . . . . || . . . ம் . . . . . ம் சொனே-

47 மாம்பள்ளி புள்ளியில் குறி தடிகூ . எத । . . . . ||| . . . ம் உ . . . .
. ம உ நிலம் . . . . . ம் உ . . எகூ ||

48 கப ம் கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகூ சு உல் ரும் உ . . . கூ உல் ரு ம் ஆக புள்ளி
உக்கு . . . . . . ம் இ-

49 லுப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்சில தடி பலநிலம் . ம் பிளாக்கொட்டைவி-
ளையும் ஙமுத திரு-

50 த்து தடி பலஉ விசுகூ கொளே ஆற்றுக்கொணம் தடி பல . . சக|ம் । (வ-
டக்குப்பிறததில் வடக்குமதிலில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

51 ஆக வடசெரிகடுக்கரை உள்ப்பட்ட தடி பல . . . . க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்

52 மெல்வாரமும் ஒழிந்து க்ஷெ கிட்டிணவிண்ணவரென்பெருமான் கொவி-
லில்

53. சிகாரியம் சிபண்டாரம் தானம் தவைக்கு உள்ப்பட ஆசெந்திரதாரவெ
சந்திரா-

54 நித்தவரைக்கும் மசடடுச்சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி திருமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்கயில் க்ஷெ நில-

55 ங்களிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலேனுட்டில் கொதைநல்லூர்ப்பற்றில் பிராயறை-
க்குளத்தின் கீ-

56 ழும் தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கிழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின் கீழும்
கழனி தடிகூருபம்

57 தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்கலத்துக் குளத்தின் கீழும் கா-
ரைக்காய் வட்டம்

58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்கலத்து குளத்தின்கிள் கழத்தடிநிலம் சுபம்
பிலாமுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி

59 நிலம் க்ஷெ உக்கு மெக்குப் புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் பிரா-
யறை தடி நிலம் ருபம் மாத்த-

60 றை தடி நிலம் உபம் ஆக்கறைக்குளத்தின் கீள் வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடிகூ
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகூ ஙபம்

61 மாம்பறைக்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாம்பறை தடிகூசுபம் சபன்குழி தடிகூ ப
ருஉம் மொதிரத்துட-

62 வயல் தடிகூ ஙபம் கொழிஞ்ஞித்துடவயல் தடிகூ சுபம் இளையநயினுக்-
குளத்தின் கீள் தலத்தடி

63 தடிகூ சுபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகூ ஙபம் மொங்ஙாத்துடவயல் தடிகூ ங
பம் பறம்புக்குழிக் கு-

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64 ளத்தாலும் கொற்றுலைக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடி கூ சபம் கொற்றுலைக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிச்சைக்குள-

65 த்தாலும் பனையடி தடி கூ உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின் கீழ் பழஞ்சொற்றுக்க-
ண்டம் தடி கூ ஙபம் பெ-

66 ருங்குளத்தின் கிழ் மாணுங்காணி தடி கூ ஙபம் கொழிப்பறம்பு தடி கூ ச-
பம் பால தடி கூ

67 ருபம் அத்நியடி தடி கூ ஙபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-

68 தடி கூ உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக் குளத்தாலும் கல்லணையா-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-

69 வயல் தடி கூ ருபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் ஷெ கோணம் நெலம்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணார்-

70 குளத்தின் கீழ் மணவாழகொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடி கூ கூபம் ஷெல் ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டுக்குளத்தின்

71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடி கூ பம் ஷெல் இழவன்குழமும் அந்நுவறிக்-
குழமும் ஷெ கொணம் தடி பல நிலம்

72 ஆக மலைநாட்டு வகவத்து கெடமை பொக்கி உள்ள பாட்டவும் பரக்கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாவடி தடி கூ

73 ஙப க்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டாற்று பெருமாள் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்வார மொழிந்து தானம்

74 வெண்டின புளியறை தடி உ கூ சாக்கு உள்ள பாட்டவும குளச்சையில்
பெற்றுள் விளாகம் புறையி-

Fourth panel.

75 டத்துக்கும் நெய்யூர் அஞ்சாலிவிளாகம் புறெ-
76 ரயடத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உள்ள பாட்டமும் சு-
77 வாமி கொவிலில்ச் சன்னதிக்கிராமத்து மனை-
78 யும் வால்வீச்சும் பாண்டாரப்பிள்ளை இசுவரன் தெவ-
79 ன் வக மண்க்கொட்டைக்கு கிழ்மெல் இராச-
80 பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல்ப் பெருவழிககும்
81 கிராமத்து வாலவீச்சுக்கும் நடுவில் மனைக-
82 ளும விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
83 ழிக்கும் கீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும காணிப்-
84 பொட்டு அம்பலத்துக்கும தனது வக விளை-
85 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கல்மடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
86 மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
87 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும கின்றயடிவி-
88 ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
89 வடக்கடையில் மெக்குச்சிறவில் கடை அம் ஷெ-
90 யில் கிளக்குச்சிற வில் கடை கூ ம் ஆக தெவன்
91 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல்
92 இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
93 ருவழிக்கும் நாயகபட்டர் விளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவி-
94 ளாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

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95 ல்மதிலுக்கும் அந்று வறிகொணத்துக்கும் கிழ்செ-
96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் நாயக்கபட்டர் வி-
97 ளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவிளைகளுக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை
98 விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளைகளுக்கும் (மகா-
99 தொறணவிளக்குக்கு தெக்குமதிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

100 வரான பெருவழிக்கும் நடுவில் விளையளும் தென்வ-
101 டல்ப்பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணாள் கூளத்துக்கும் அந்நறிகொ-
102 ணத்துக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை விக்கிரமன் சங்கரன் விளையளுக்கும் ந-
103 டுவில் விளையளும் தொப்பும் நந்தாவனமும் அதின் கி-
104 ழக்குத்துண்டுவிளைக்கும் ஆக இவ்வகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட சிலவும் நடத்திக்கெ-
106 காள்ள சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி விட்டுக்கெ-
107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு பிச்சையார் அணைஞ்சபெருமாள்
108 முத்தாளம் பூசைக்கும் நமக்காரத்துக்கும் நாள் க-க்கு அரி
109 ௩௱அ ஆக ௰ம் க-க்கு ௨ களஆக ௰ம் ௬-க்கு ௨ ௬ள-க்கு வி-
110 ட்டுக்கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் சறி தடி ௬ . . . .
111 க்கு அகப்பற்று உ-க்கு உள்ள மெல்வாரவும் ஷெயில் கடு-
112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடி௬வளத ‖ . . க்கு அகப்பற்று
113 மெல்வாரமும் அளஎ௰௨ ஷு கொண்ட அந்தநபுரத்து
114 நெட்டையினன் குளமும் ஷெ கொணம் மடி௬।
115 அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட;
116 வும் அ௰எஷு ஆவணி மீ ம் ௰௨ செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
117 பெருமாள் தம்பிரான்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
118 டுத்த வக வடசெரியில்க் கரையும் கடுக்கரையில் கரை-
119 ரயும் காணியாட்சையும் ஷெயில் குளவும் பனையடிக்கெ-
120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இவ்வகைகளுக்கு உள்ள நெ-
121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்ப்ப-
122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் எறப்பெரும் நடத்திக் கொள்ளவும்
123 ஆக இந்தவகை எறபெரும் ஷெ கொவில் தம்மபத்தாவும்
124 ஷெ கொவில் சன்னதி கிராமத்து மாசனங்களும் கூடி
125 விசாரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தற்மத்துக்கு அ-
126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெங்கைக் கரையிலெ காராம் பசு-
127 வைக் கொந்ந பாபத்தில் பொவாராகவும் இந்த தற்மம் பரி-[1]

No. 32—Vadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures $10\frac{3}{4}''$ by $6\frac{3}{4}''$ exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vaishṇava triple emblem, a Teṅkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śaṅkha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*.

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and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishṇa shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāñjināḍu, the plate[1] must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription[2] it is learnt that Vaḍaśēri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇāḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman[3] who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription[4] of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishṇa of Vaḍaśēri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhin and on a Monday, the 27th day of Puraṭṭāśi with suklapaksha-daśami and nakshatra Śravaṇa. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmaliṅgam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajuś-śākhā and a resident in the south Māḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishṇa, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāṅi and Parvatavarddhanī-sāni undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmans throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāḷ-uḷpaḍa*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (nak. Śravaṇa) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *tiriyaḷ* is used for *strīkaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishṇa is tamilised into *Kiṭṭina*, *sahiraṇya* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraṇiya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Krishṇaśvāmi-tuṇai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

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abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages Īśānti-maṅgalam, Varaguṇa-maṅgalam, Bhūtappāṇḍi, the rivulets Araśiyār and Teḷḷāndi, and the individuals Ulaguḍaiya-nāchchiyār, Tambirāṉtōḻan-Śīvalakkuṭṭi and Kadambara-nāyar of Iraviman. Bhūtappāṇḍi is a village in the Tovala taluk in South Travancore, and Īśānti-maṅgalam described as situated in the western portion of Nāñjināḍu is a village near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

The name Tambirāṉṟōlan (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint Sundaramūrti, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṉ*) at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] சகாத்தம் கதுசூாகூயக ன் மெல் கொல்ல[ம்*] கூாசய-
2 ஙு௵ விரோதி ௵ புரட்டாதிமாதம்² உ௰எ௳ பூறுவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
3 யும்² சொமவாரமுஂ திரிதிநாமயொகமுஂ யானைக்கர-
4 ணமுஂ பெற்ற திருவொண நட்சத்திறத்து நாள் செய்த சகிரணி-
5 யொத:பூறுவ தற்ம்மதான பிறமாணமாவது [॥*] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
6 வடசருவில் ஆதித்தவற்ம்ம சதுற்வெதிமங்கலத்து நயினர் உரு-
7 வ நாராயண விண்ணவ எம்பெருமானர் கொவில் சிறீ கி-
8 ஷ்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
9 கவுண்டினிய கொத்திறத்து ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பசூத்திறத்தில் எசுசாகா-
10 த்கியான வைத்திலிங்கபட்டர் புத்திரன் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் ச-
11 ானகியும் பறுவதவற்த்தினிசானியொம் கிட்டிணசுவாமி சன்னதி-
12 யில் நித்திய நமஸ்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிராமண பொச-
13 னத்துக்கும் உதககதான பிறமாணம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ-
14 து [॥*] முன் சம்ச௵ மாசிமாதம் ௰சஉ எங்கள் பற்த்தா ராமலிங்கன் தான-
15 ம்செய்த நிலமாவது [।*] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மெல்பிடாகை ஈசாந்தி-
16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால் சங்கண்ணறு² அரசியார்கால்ப்-
17 பொக்கில் தெள்ளாந்தி மடைப்புரவில் தெள்ளாந்தி வய-
18 ல் தடி கஉ . . . . .³ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்-
19 கை மாடன் நாகர் உ⁴த்துக்கு மெற்க்குத் தென்னெல்கை கிழ்-
20 மெல்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்கை அரசியார் காலுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1098 M. E.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Contains land symbols.
4 Symbol for நிலம்.

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21 குக் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை கணக்கு சங்கரநாராயணன் ராமன்
22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தெள்-
23 ளாந்தி வயல் தடி கஉ . . . . [1]உமசமீ ம் ஷ கண்ணுத்தி-
24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுவுமடை கரையடி நாற்றடி தடி கஉ வத । ச
25 ல் ஒ உவ சமீ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை அரசியார் கா-
26 லுக்கு மெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை உலகுடைய நாச்சிய-
27 ார் சொணை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
28 க்கும் காலுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை உலகுடைய நாச்சிய-
29 ார் சொணை உத்துக்கு தெற்க்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
30 தடி கஉவக । சல் குலெ சமீ ய் வரகுணமங்கலம் கிழ்பால அ-
31 ரசியார் கால்பொக்கில் நால்பதுமாபற்றில் மணறை மாகா-
32 ணி மடைப்புரவில் இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல தடி
33 கஉசுளத । க . . . . மசுமீ க்கு எல்கையாவது கிழ் எ-
34 ல்கை பிராணுபகாரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன் உத்துக்கு
35 மெற்க்கு தென்எல்கை தம்பிரான்தொழன் சிவலக்குட்டி
36 உத்துக்கு உம் கிழ்மெல் காலுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை நயி-
37 னார் பூதனாதசுவாமி உத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை பூத-
38 னாதன் ராமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்க்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு
39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி கஉ

Second side.

40 சுளக । ககப . . மசுமீ ம் ஆக தடி ௲உ . . . .
41 சமசமீ க்கு ஷூக பாட்டம் ௳ கொட்டை ௲ம௲ இல் தன்மைகுறை வகைக்கு
42 னீக்கின ௳ கொரு யும் னீக்கி வரம்படங்கல் பாட்டம் ௳ கொட்டை உமஅ ல்
43 னாள் க-க்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உ-க்கு அரிசி ௲உ-க்கு ௳ எஉ உரியும் யிரு
44 வெஞ்ஞனம் வகைக்கு ௳ உ உரியும் பழயநமக்காரம் பெர் சும் மெறபடி
பெர் உம் ஆக
45 பெர் அ க்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச ௳ உயும் ஆக னாள் க க்கு ௳ பஉஉ ஆ-
க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
46 கனாள் னாள் ௲ாசுமரு க்கு சிலவு நெல் கொட்டை உம க்கு இ ௲ உ சு உரியும்
47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர் சு க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
௲உ
48 ளும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ருஉ
49 ளும் ஆக அரிசி வரு உரிக்கு ருல் உ க்கு ௳ ருமீ உளும் பருப்பும் நாலு க-
றியும் ஆக
50 வச்சூட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிலவு வகக்கு ௳ வரு ருஉ ௲ளுக்கும் ஆக இவ-
கைபடி திரு-
51 வொணம் நாள் க க்கு ௳ கொட்டை பஉசஆக பெர் க க்கு ப௱ம் மஉ க்கு
திருவொணம் ய௲

1 Contains land symbols.

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52 க்கு சிலவு கொட்டை சதுஉசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உள்பட்டவக
53 க்கு இவகபடி பெர் க க்கு கிலவு ௲ கொட்டை உ௰௬ இ௰௬உ உரியும் மெ
ற்படி௲
54 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்கூலிக்கு ௲ கொட்டை சஉ ஆக ௲ கொட்டை உ௰அ
55 க்கும் இந்த தானம் செய்த நிலத்தை சிபண்டாரத்தில் நின்று-
56 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்சு பாட்ட ௲ம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தற்மத்-
57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தற்ம-
58 த்தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலொக சாமீப சாரு-
59 ப்பிய சாயுச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தற்மத்தை
60 விக்கினம் செய்தவர்கள் பிரம்மத்துரொகியாகவும் விண்ணு-
61 த்துரொகியாகவும் சிவத்துரொகியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
62 படிச்சம்மதித்து இந்த சகிரணியொதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
63 எழுதிக்குடு[த்*]தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகிசானியும்
64 பறுவதவற்த்தினிசானியுமொம் கிண்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியி-
65 ல் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகிசானியும் பறுவத
66 வற்த்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [।।*] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் கைஎழுதி-
67 ன தளிகைமாதெவர் கொயில் சன்னதி கிராமத்தில் லட்சிமி-
68 நாராயண சொதிரிஷி புத்திறன் வைத்தியனாதன் எழுத்து [।।*] முன்பு
69 கூாயநிஹ் ஆவணிமாதம் கூஉ பூதப்பாண்டி அகரத்து
70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் சூரியநாராயணபட்டர் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல்-
71 பிச்சுகொடுத்த துலியம் சாற்த்திய தானபிறமாண ஒ-
72 லை க ம் யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஒலை க ம் கூா௲௰உஹ் தாது
73 ளு சம் காற்த்திகை மாதம் ௰௲உ சூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
74 ட்டாரொடு ௲ருதுக்கு ராமலிங்கபட்டர் உட்பட சறு தா-
75 னம் செய்து வாங்கின ஒலை க ம் பணம் நிதூ க்கு எழுதி-
76 வாங்கின அற்த்த பத்துசீட்டு க ம் ஆக ஒலை சம் சிறீபண்-
77 டாரத்தில் கைய்யாளிக்கவும் செய்தொம் [।।*] இந்த
78 உதககதானப்பிறமாண ஒலை பட்டடயத்தும்ப-
79 டிக்குத் தாம்பிரபட்டையம் கைஎழுதின மெற்படி
80 ஊரில் யிருக்கும் சில்ப்பம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
81 திருநீலகண்டன் எழுத்து [।।*] ஸ்ரீகரஷணவஸாரிதஊணை [।।*]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Vaḍaśēri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1464, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa who is stated to have been a *paradēśi* (foreigner) of the Antarvēdi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vaḍaśēri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

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the South. Antarvēdi-rājya[1] was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brāhmaṇas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also know by the names of Śaśasthalī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman[2] in the 12th century.

Text.[3]

First face.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொல்லம்
2 ௬௱௩௰௯ ஆவது க-
3 ர்க்கடகஞாயிறு
4 பதினொன்று செ-
5 ன்ற வ௵வ-உவ-
6 கூத்து வஞு-
7 மியுந் திங்கள்-
8 க்கிழமை[யு]ம்
9 பெற்ற உத்திரா[த்]தி-
10 ன் [னாள்*] நாஞ்சிநா-
11 ட்டு ஸஹஸ்ரதெய
12 ழ வடசெரியா-
13 ன ஸ்ரீஉதாதிதீ-
14 வ...-
15 ஈமங்கலத்து
16 நயினார் உடைய-
17 நாராயணவி-
18 ண்ணகர் எம்பெ-
19 ருமான் கோ-
20 விலில் நயிநா-
21 ர்க்கு சூரியரில்
22 அஞ்ஞ...

Second face.

23 ...த்[த:]
24 பர...-
25 களில் [ஸ்ரீ]-
26 ...-
27 ர் ...-
28 ராக உச்சி-
29 ஸ[ந்தி]வே-
30 ளையில்
31 கூட வை-
32 ச்சு நிவே-
33 திச்சு ஒரு
34 ...-
35 மாக ஒரு பி-
36 ...ணை-
37 ன ஊட்டும்-
38 படி கற்பித்த
39 இதுக்கு நாள் க
40 க்கு அமுது படி
41 உவ க்கு ...
42 ...உ எம்மு-
43 ரம் ।॥[4] உப்பு அமு-
44 துக்கு ... உரி
45 ஆக ...

Third face.

46 ...உ உரி[யு*]ம்
47 ஆக ம[ா*]ஸம் க க்கு ...
48 கள உத ...
49 ஆக
50 ஆண்டு க க்கு மிக்க
51 நாள் ... க்கு மாக
52 ...-
53 க்கு நூற்று-
54 க்கு மூன்று
55 கொட்டை நெ-
56 ல்லு விழுக்காடு
57 உஷயம் ..கா-

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1 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रयागहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मावर्तदेशः । तत्पर्यायः शशस्थली ॥
—*Śabdakalpadruma*, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवानां मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कलिन्दकन्यामन्दाकिन्यौ संगच्छेते ।
—*Anargharāghava*, 7 (Apte)

2 *Madras Epig. Rept.* for 1922, p. 103.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

4 This is not understood.

58 ண்டு நடத்தும்ப-
59 டி கற்பித்து இ-
60 துக்கு ப சா௱ம
61 ம் சருவத்துக்கு
62 ப உ௰ம் ஆக
63 ப சா௱௰ம் ம-
64 ாதம் க க்கு இ-
65 லையமுது அ-
66 டைக்காயமு-

Fourth face.

67 துக்கு ப வ ம
68 சந்தனக-
69 ாப்புக்கு ப வ
70 ம் நெய்யமு-
71 துக்கு ப வம் க-
72 றியமுதுக்கு
73 ப வம் ஆக ப
74 க க்கு மாஸம்
75 க க்கு பலிசை
76 கொண்டு ந-
77 டக்கும்படிக்கு
78 ப ௰ம் ஆக
79 ப ௱ம் சூ-
80 அசந்[த*]ாா முட்டாம-
81 ல் நடக்கும்படி
82 கற்பித்து திரு-
83 ப்படியில் உக-
84 கம் செய்து உக[க*]-
85 வஞ்வஷாக இப்-
86 பணம் அஞ்ஞூறு-
87 ம உஷையம் ெ-
88 காண்டொ மிக்ெ-
89 காயிலில் கழிச-
90 களும் உள்வாரி-
91 யஞ் செய்வார்ளும்
92 பரதெஶிகளும் சூ-
93 அசந்தாரம் முட்டாம-
94 ல் நடக்கும்படிக்கு தீ-
95 வசஹட்டனென் ரூ-
96 பநாராயண விண்ணகர் எ-
97 ம்பெருமானுக்கு [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Kaṟkaṭaka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhaṭṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antarvēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ of Vaḍaśēri *alias* Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Nāñjināḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḻi* of rice, 5 *nāḻi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḻi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, *i. e.*, 1 *kalam* 2 *tūṇi* 5 *nāḻi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

¼ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, ¼ *paṇam* for sandle-paste, ¼ *paṇam* for ghee, and ¼ *paṇam* for vegetables: *i. e.*, for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors[1] and *paradēśis*[2] received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *uḷvāriyam-śeyvār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Aqappoduvāḷ* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēśi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Aryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmans in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

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ṇam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dīrgha-bhaṭṭan to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyana-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ, till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Kṛishṇaṅkōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Gaṇapati, a resident of Kuḷattūr in Kollam 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.[1]

1 ௳ ௯௱௪௰௫ ஆண்டு விகிருதிவருஷம் சித்திரைமாதம் ௨௰௮௳ திங்கழ்க்கிழ-
மையும் சித்திரைநட்செத்திரமும் பூற-

2 வபட்சத்து த்ரயொதெசியும் சித்திநாமயொகமும் பன்றிக்கரணமும் இந்த-
சுபதினத்தில் துசப்றதிட்டை த[ரு]மம்

3 குளத்தூரான் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை ௳

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti, on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th (lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṉṟi karaṇa—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff) was (done as) the service of Gaṇapati of Kuḷattūr.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmans on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha, while the king of the other record is Veṉṟumaṅkoṇḍa Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ௫௱௪௰௮ ஆண்டு யனுஞாயற்று ௨௰௩ சென்ற நாள் . . .

2 ஸச்சது வெ௨ழிமங்கலத்து திருக்கடவூர் யஜுநாராயணபட்ட . . . . . .

3 தூவாதசித்திருவடி கொயிற்கன்மிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த . . . . . .

No. 70 of 1084.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் ௭௱௮ ஆண்டு காத்திகை . . . . . .

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2 சங்கரநாராயண வென்றுமன்கொண்டபூதலவீர . . . .
3 ச்சவையாரில் ஆரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபெருமாள் . . . .

— —

No. 36—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report* on Archæology for 1096 M. E.:—

It states that Īchchamm-ādikuṭṭiyuma and Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ of Śeru-viḻaivīḍu in Chirayiṉkīḻ-dēśam were granted the land called Śeṟiyarāṉṉiviḷai in Neyyāttiṅkarai-dēśam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttiṅkarai, they built a *kal-maḍam* and *ambalam*, *i. e.*, a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Āchārappiḷḷai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāmēśvarattu-Mahādēva and Kandaḷūrśālai-Mahādēva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyāttinkarai and Kuḻitturai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyāttiṅkarai, Kāndaḷūr-śālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kāndaḷūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttiṅkarai. Kandaḷūr is repeatedly referred to in Choḷa inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Śālai. Earlier references to Kāndaḷūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-ḍakkan (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkuḷam and Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvaram, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōḷa sovereigns from the time of Rājarāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Śālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōḷa kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase "Kandaḷūr-śālaikalam-aṟutta". His Kanyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus:—"*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṉ-talaiyum Śēralaṉ-Śālaiyum Ilaṅgaiyum taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*". The clause means "he who by means of his army took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅka". This introduction makes it plain that *Śālai* is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a 'charity institution'. The employment of the words '*taṇḍāl-koṇḍa*' 'who took by means of his army,' and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya's head and Laṅkā would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king's reign, mention "*Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvarattu kalam-aṟṟa yāṇḍa*" and "*Talaikkuḷattu kalam-aṟṟu yāṇḍu*". These have been wrongly connected (*vide. Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājarāja I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither 'Śālai' nor 'Rājarāja' is mentioned in these records.

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Text.[1]

First face.

1 ஓம் கெணபதெ நம [।*]
2 தனுவில் வியாழம்
3 நின்ற கொல்லம்[2]
4 ௮௱௩௰௯ ௵ சித்தி-
5 ரை மாதம் ௩ ௳ செ
6 ன்ற வியாழவாச-
7 சயும் சித்திரையும
8 பூற்வபக்கிழத்து பவு-
9 ரணியும் பின்னுள-
10 ரல் சிறயின்கீழ்தெ-
11 சத்து செறுவள்ளி-
12 வீட்டில் பீச்சம்மா-
13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அய்ய[ப்*]-
14 பன் மாத்தாண்டனு-
15 கூட நெய்யாற்றங்க-
16 ரெ தெசத்து மாஙாலி-
17 யில் செறியதாங்கி வி-
18 ளைக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
19 திருவுளளம்பற்றி க-
20 ல்ப்பிச்சு தந்த திருமு-
21 கத்தின்படி ஒள்ள க்ஷெ
22 விளையில் கல்மடமு[ம்*]
23 கல்லம்பலவும் கெட்டி-
24 ச்சு க்ஷெ ௵ பங்குனி-௰-௨[ய]-
25 ௳ கெல[ச]மாடுகயி[ல்]
26 க்ஷெ மடத்தில் தலைசெழ-
27 காறராக வாற திருபெ-
28 ரு ருமபரதெசி ஙீராக-
29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரபி[ள்*]ளை-
30 யாரையும் பூசித்து நங்-
31 தவன பணிவிடையும்
32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ர*]-
33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற்]றும் மிடை ப-
34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
35 ளக்கு எண்ண[யு] ள்-
36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம்*]
37 கூட உதகபூற்வ த-
38 ம்மதான பட்டயமாக
39 சந்திராதித்தர் வரை-
40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

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2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

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Second face.

41 சிலாலிகித-
42 மாக நாம் வி-
43 ட்டு குடுத்த நில-
44 ங்களும் புரெ-
45 யடங்களும-
46 ாவது [॥*]திரு
47 முகத்தின்ம ।।-
48 [டி கடம] அடக்கி
49 வெண்டின
50 செழியதாநி
51 விளை யுள்ளி-
52 ட்ட புரெயடங்-
53 ளுக்கும் ஷெ விளை-
54 யிலும் பிற கரி-
55 யிலுங் குடக-
56 [ருசவ] ங்கமு-
57 டய வாளுய-
58 திருத்தின் தாநி-
59 யம் யுள்ளிட்ட
60 தடி பல உ ௲ள-
61 வும் நயினார் [ரா]மெ-
62 மசுரத்து மாதெ-
63 த[வ]ர் பற்றில் நி-
64 ந்று கடம அடக்கி
65 காராமயாக
66 விட்டு தந்த ன-
67 . பிலாவிளை-
68 யும் ஷெல் கீழ்பி-
69 றத்து வெட்டித்தி-
70 ருத்து தடி ஒன்-
71 று உ ௲-பம் எங்-
72 கள் தாய்ம-
73 ார் சிரிதன-
74 ம் பெற்றுடை-
75 யொ மாயி
76 ஆண்டனு-
77 பவித்து வருகி-
78 ற மாஙாலி[யி]-
79 ல் பெருவழி-
80 க்கு தென் பிற-
81 ங் கண்டலில்
82 [ரா]மெசுரத்து

Third face.

83 மாதெவர்க்கு அஞ்சிலொ-
84 ன்று வார[ம்*]பொகவெண்-

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85 டும் வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
86 தடி எ உ உ ள நடுவும் [கொ]-
87 ல்லயில் மாங்குளத்தின் கி-
88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கற கு உ௰௯ [ம்] அ-
89 யிக்கர வட்டத்து புதுக்குளத்தி-
90 ன் கீழ் [எ]ரிச்சிலற தடி க
91 உ௰உம் ஷெ தடி உ கார் எற்-
92 ரு சரிரவிருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
93 . . . கடமயும் பொன்னும்
94 ஓணங்கொட்டு எனை-
95 யொன் குளத்தின் கீழ்
96 குளத்தற தடி க உ யபம் ரு௲-
97 ந் கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்து-
98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . ஷெ
99 தடி க வ பம் வள்ளல் தடி
100 உஉகபரு காயடி தடி உ வ
101 . . ருமள மெச்சன் வ அப
102 வள்ளிவாறற உ பம் குள-
103 வடி தடி உ வ உபயும் புளிய-
104 டி தடி உ வ உபயும் மெக்குதகெ-
105 ர பூவச்ச [பு]ரெயடத்தில்
106 பாதியும் ஷெ சாயல் புளி-
107 யடி தலெபுரெயடத்தி-
108 னு வடக்கு கிழக்குதரெ வி-
109 த்துகொள்ளி வயல் தெ-
110 ல புரெயடத்தினு வட-
111 க்கு நீர்ச்சருவுகள்க்கும்
112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
113 புரெயடத்துஙளில் பாதி-
114 யும் ஆலத்தூர் தெசத்து ச-
115 ரப்புகாட்டில் குளத்தின் கீ-
116 ழ் ஊாந்தளூர் சாலை ம-
117 ாதெவர்க்கு வாரம் பொக
118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க வ
119 ௰உ பம் செறிய புளியடி
120 தடி க உ௫ பம் புத்தற தடி க வ
121 ௫ பம் கொணத்து தடி க வ
122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க வ
123 சபம் கானக்கொட்டு

Fourth face.

124 செறுகொட்டு
125 புரெயடங்களு[ஆ*]
126 கயிவ்வக [தடி]
127 பல உயகளய
128 கபம் யிந்த பு-
129 ரெயடங்களு[ம்*]
130 கூட மடப்பிறம-

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131 ரகு சந்திராதித்-
132 தர் வரெக்கும்
133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
134 படி விட்டுக்குடு-
135 த்து [||*] யிந்த மட த-
136 ற்ம்ம நடந்து வ-
137 ருமிடத்து யாத-
138 ரமொருவர் யி-
139 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் நி
140 லங்களுக்கும் பு
141 ரெயடங்களு
142 க்கும் அகுதம் ெ
143 சய்தபெர்க-
144 ள் தங்கள் மா-
145 தா பிதாவை ெ-
146 கான்ற தொழ-
147 த்திலும் பிரும-
148 ணரை கொன்-
149 ற தொழத்திலு-
150 ம் கெங்கைக-
151 ரயில் காரும்-
152 பசுவை கொ-
153 ன்ற தொழத்தி-
154 ல் பொவாருக-
155 வும் யிந்த தம்ம-
156 த்துக்கு அனுகூ-
157 லம் செய்ப-
158 வர்கள் பரெ-
159 மசுரனுடைய
160 பாதாரவிந்-
161 தத்தில் செர்-
162 வாருகவும் [||*]
163 ஶுபமஸ்து ।

Translation.

Om! Adoration to Gaṇapati!

The following are the lands and *puraiyiḍams* which we, Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ and Īchchammādikkuṭṭiyuma of Cheruvaḷḷivīḍu in Chirayinkīḻ-dēśam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Ācharappiḷḷaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

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built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguṇi in the said year, in the Śeṟiya-tānniviḷai of Māṅāli in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king[1] had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeṟiyatānniviḷai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kaḍamai* according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍis* in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . ;

Pilāviḷai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēvar with the right of enjoyment of *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai*;

the land called Veṭṭitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Māṅāli, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēva;

the land called Maññaṟakaṟa, measuring *10 paṟa*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅguḷam;

the land called Erichchilaṟa (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḻi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of thē tank of Pudukkuḷam.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Eṟṟāsarivirutti, Maññara . . . . . ;

the land called Kuḷattaṟa to the east of Eṇayōṅkuḷam in Ōṇaṅgōḍu, measuring 10 *paṟa*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. . . . . kaṇḍam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kuṟuṇi*;

Viṭṭukoḷḷi, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and another of 2 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*;

Maḷamechchaṉ, measuring 8 *kuṟuṇi*;

Vaḷḷivāṟaṟa, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi*;

Kuḷavaḍi, measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puḷiyaḍi measuring 2 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

half of Mēkkuttaṟa Pūvachcha-purayaḍam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kuṟuṇi* situated to the north of Puḷiyaḍi-talaippuraiyiḍam, to the north of Viṭṭukoḷḷivayal-talaippuraiyiḍam and the lands *karaippuraiyiḍam* included in the water course;

the land called Marudaṟa situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkāḍu in the village of Ālattūr, measuring 12 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍaḷūrśālai-mahādēva;

Śeṟiyapuḷiyaḍi, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttaṟa, measuring 5 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Mūtta-Tambirāṉ is probably Vira Ravi-Ravivarman.

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Tekkepputtaṟa, measuring 4 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;
the *puraiyiḍams* of Śeṟukōḍu in Kaṇakkōḍu;
Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in many *taḍis*.

These *puraiyiḍams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyiḍams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmaṇas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kuḻitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pichchai-Piḷḷai Kaṇṇam-Piḷḷai of Mañjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kuḻitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pāḷai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Naṭṭālam, Āṟṟūr, Pudūr and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.[1]

1 தனுவில் வியாளம்
2 நின்ற கொல்லம் ௯௱-
3 ௫௰௭ஞு ஆடி மாத-
4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி-
5 ங்களாட்சையும் மூலவும்
6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொெ-
7 தசியும் இன்னளால் குளு-
8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

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9 ளாகத்து வீட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
10 ளை கன்னம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
11 ப்படி தெசத்து பழயசங்-
12 தயில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
13 றத்தில் அம்பலவும் கெ-
14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி
15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சிட்-
16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளங்
17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாலி-
18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
19 டவும் வென்னீர் ஊறுகாய்
20 குடுக்கவும் சுண்ணம்பு
21 வெண்டி இடவும் பாளையும் கய-
22 றும் வகைக்கும் ௸ அம்பலம் ஒ-
23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும்[1] இந்த வகைக-
25 ள் எ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருகி-
26 ற பண்டாரங்களுக்கு நி-
27 லவும் புரயெடமும் செம்மம் ெ-
28 [ந]டிவிட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின்-
30 ங்கரை மெலெ வீட்டு

Second face.

31 மெலவீட்டு விளாக
32 புரயிடத்தி [எய ரப்][2] காசை
33 வெண்டி சிலவிட்டுக் கெ-
34 ாள்ளுவாராகவும் [।*] இந்த எ-
35 ளுத்தின்படி உள்ள தற்மம்
36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண்-
37 டாரங்களுக்கு நிலவும் பு-
38 ரயடவும் செம்மம் ெ[ந]டி[வி]-
39 ட்டுக் குடுத்தவகை அண்-
40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளில்ல]-
41 கொட்டு கொணத்து பாதி-
42 ரியான்க்குளத்தாலும்
43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கிள்-
44 வெங்கெறெ தடி க நிலம்
45 [கூப] ௸ தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
46 ரங்குளத்தின் கீள் படப்பற
47 தடி க நிலம் ௱ ப[மு]வன்னு-
48 தெசத்து சுரப்பாலக்குளத்தி-
49 ன்ங்கீள் ஊளாற தடி க நி-
50 லம் எப ரு உ-ம் வயல்கலக்க
51 ல் நிக்கும் தெங்கு ௱-ம் புன்னை
52 கம் ஆக தடி ௱ நிலம் கள சபறு-

1 This word is a variant of ஊ-தெளிக்கவும்.

2 Probably எழுபதரை.

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53 டங் தெங்கு ௩-ம் புன்னை க-ம்
54 ஷெ அம்பலத்து வடக்கு ப்[கிற]த்து
55 விளா[க*]த்தி[ல்] இருக்கிற வீடு-
56 ம் விளாக விருட்சங்க-
57 ளும் பஞ்சுக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face.

58 விளாகம் புர-
59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-
60 ல்கை கீ[ளெ]-
61 ல்லே அரசன்-
62 செரி விளாக-
63 த்தினும் மெக்கு [தென்]-
64 னல்ல இடலே-
65 க்குந் வடக்கு மெ[லெ]-
66 ல்லே தாளக்-
67 [கொ]டு புரயிடத்தி-
68 னும் கிளக்கு வ-
69 டவல்லே நாவறெ-
70 விளாகத்தினு-
71 ம் தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-
72 ல்கை நடுவில்
73 கிடந்த மெலெ-
74 ட்டு விளாகம்
75 புரையிடத்தினு
76 ஷூ க-க்கு பாட்ட ௳
77 டுஉல் தனங்க-
78 ரம் ௳ கஇ-யும் நீ-
79 க்கி ௳ யஇ-க்கும் சி-
80 லவு ஷெ அம்பல-
81 ம் ஓலகட்டு வ-
82 கைக்கு ௳ கூ-ம்
83 பாளேயும் கயறு-
84 க்கும் ௳ உ-ம் சு-
85 ண்ணு[ம் பு]-
86 க்கு ௳ கஇ-யும் ஊ-
87 றுகாயி [வகை]க்கு
88 ம[ாக] சரி வழிபொ-
89 க்கிக்கு சூட்டுக்கு-
90 டுக்கிறவகைக்கு ௳ க-
91 ம் ஆக இந்த வகைக்கு செ-
92 சலவு ௳ யஇ-யும் இது-

Fourth face.

93 [வு] ந் தெழிக்கா-
94 வ வீட்டில் பொ-
95 கம் உடமயாக
96 அனுபவிச்சு-
97 கொண்டு எளு-
98 தின பிற(ா)காற-

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99 ம் தற்மம் [ந]டப்[பி]-
100 வைக்[க]உம ச-
101 றுவகார்யமு
102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
105 ர்மம் நடந்துவரவெ
106 எதொரு காலவுமயா[1]-
107 தா ஒருத்த ஆகி-
108 லும் தற்ம்மத்து-
109 க்கு விக்கினம் வரு-
110 த்தின பெர்கள்
111 இ[ந்த] தற்மம் மு-
112 டக்கின பாவம்
113 [ஏ]ற்றுக்கொ-
114 ள்ளுவாறு-
115 கவும் இந்தப்-
116 படி தம்மதிச்-
117 சு ஷெ அம்பல-
118 த்துக்கு இந்த வரு-
119 ம்படி எல்லாம்
120 தானமாக ஆ-
121 செந்திரகாலமெ
122 தந்தெதிப்பிற-
123 தெசமெ கல்லு
124 வெட்டி நாட்டிகு-
125 டுத்த பிச்சாபி-
126 ள்ளை கன்ன-
127 ம் பிள்ளை கு-
128 மரசுவாமி துணை [।।*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Āḍi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mūla-(nakshatra), and the thirteenth (*tithi*) of the first fortnight, Pichchappiḷḷai-Kaṉṉam-piḷḷai of Mañjaviḷāgam house in the village of Kuḻitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Naḍakkāvu in it, for the *paṇḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables வரவெ are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'வும் யா' are engraved below the line.

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seventy and half *kāśu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Mēlaivīṭṭu-viḷāgam situated in Mēkkiṉkarai in the village of Pākōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇḍārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīḻveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvaṉkuḷam and Pādiriyāṉkuḷam and situated in Āḷillakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Paḍappaṟa under the tank of Veṅgaraṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāṟa under the tank of Śurappālaikuḷam and situated in Muvannudēśam;

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *puṉṉai* tree standing on the land called Vayalkalakkal;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 taḍi of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *naḻi*, three cocoanut trees and one *puṉṉai*.

The house situated in the *viḷāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *viḷāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkiviḷāgam-*purayiḍam* of Pañjukkaḍai (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araśaṉśeri-*viḷāgam*: the southern boundary is to the north of Iḍalai: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷagakōḍu-purayiḍam: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-*viḷāgam*.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money *viz.*, 12 *paṇam* due on the Mēlavīṭṭu-*viḷāgam-purayiḍam* lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for . . . . , the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves:

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches:

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Teḷikkāvu-vīḍu be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaippiḷḷai-Kaṉṉampiḷḷai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Puduvūr, a hamlet of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

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Text.[1]

1 அா௲௨-
2 சுளுறு தை
3 [ஸ்ரீ]செஉ பள்-
4 ளிச்சை ஈ
5 ச்சுரன் ஈ-
6 ச்சுரன் செ-
7 விசச அம்-
8 பல-
9 த்துக்-
10 கு மெ-
11 ல் ப-
12 டி ய-
13 ான்
14 உடப்-
15 பிறந்-
16 தாள்
17 நாச்-
18 சியா
19 ராசு-
20 ந்தம-
21 மை
22 தா-
23 னம்
24 குடு-
25 தத ஙி-
26 லம்
27 புது-
28 ஹூர்
29 குள-
30 த்து கீ-
31 ள் மு-
32 ருக்க-
33 றை
34 ௩ ப-
35 யும்
36 சந்த-
37 ஆதி பி-
38 றவெ-
39 சமெ
40 தண்-
41 ணீரு-
42 ம் தீயு-
43 ம் முட்-
44 டா-
45 மெ-
46 ல் இ
47 ருந்-
48 து ந-
49 டத்தி
50 வீத-
51 த்து க-
52 ட[ை*]ம-
53 யும்
54 இரு-
55 த்து
56 யா-
57 விச்-
58 சு செ-
59 காள்-
60 வரா-
61 ாக-
62 வும்
63 உடு-
64 ப்பா-
65 ன்
66 ஆ-
67 ண்-
68 டு ஒ-
69 ன்று-
70 க்கு [மு]-
71 வ்-
72 று ப-
73 ண
74 வு
75 ம்
76 ஹ-
77 ரி[॥*]

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuraṉ-Ichchuraṉ of Paḷḷichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nāchchiyār-Āsundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkaṟai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

1 Registered as No. 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

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Puduvūr, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes. (She also gave) three *paṇam* for the clothing required annually. Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkodu.

Tiruviḍaikkōḍu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkaru-nandaḍakkaṉ (A. D. 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs[2] of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*—bull (Nandi), and *kōḍu*—hill top and Tiruviḍaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vṛishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions.[3]

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palæographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (=A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōḷa-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuñjattu Rāmānujan-Eḻuttachchan,[4] 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2 *Ibid.* , Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3 See page 150 below.

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 42.

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new script may have undergone some standardisation in form[1] and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *maṇipravāḷa* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vaṭṭeḻuttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmans who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *ḷa*, *ṟa*, *ḻa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vaṭṭeḻuttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palæographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vaṭṭeḻuttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīrarāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.[2] Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kk* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *ṟ* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop ാ, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ña*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into ഭ; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *śeyda*, mukappaḍi (*l*. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (*l*. 6) and in juxta-position in other places *aiññūṟṟu* (*l*. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Ārya-eḻuttu except the introduction of the letters *ṟ*, *ḻ* and *ḷ* – p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

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It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayāḷam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i. e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmans in the Tiruvidaik-kōḍu temple during the Viśākham annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kiḷapperūr who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*,[1] we learn that a king called Vīra-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till about 550 M. E., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Krishṇaṅkōyil epigraph[2] is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram '*chōḷapriya*' corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārt-tāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vēṇāḍu before Kollam 550.

Śrīvallabha-maṅgalam, is mentioned in a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya record of Chōḷa-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Naṭṭāṟṟu-pōkku in Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu. Maṇattiṭṭai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.[3]

1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ [।*] കൊല്ലം അഞ്ഞൂററു നാൽപത്തു എട്ടാ-
2 മാണ്ടു കന്നിഞായിററു ധ ചെൻററു വെണാട്ടു വ-
3 ാഴ്ന്തരുളിൻറ കീഴപ്പെരൂ[ർ*] ഇരവി ഇരവിവമ്മ-
4 ൻതിരുവടി സവ്വഗ്രസ്തകവത്തുദാനം കൊടുത്ത നില-
5 ത്തിന്റ എഴുതിന തിരുമുകപ്പടി [।*] കീഴ്കളക്കൂററത്തു
6 ബ്രഹ്മദെശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭ ം ഉവെ്തിമങ്ങലത്തു കാ-
7 ടവ യജ്ഞനാരായണപ്പട്ട സവ്വഗ്രസ്തകവത്തു നാ-
8 ഞ്ചിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കാൽ കീഴെൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പൂ
9 മൂത്ത തിരുവടിക്കു പകുതിപട്ട തടി വ നില മാക്ക-
10 ന്നി മന്ത്രിയെക്കു മെൽക്കു തെന്നെൽക തടി ഫ നിലം [അ]-
11 രമാവുക്കു വടക്കു മെൽഎൽക തടി ഫ നിലം അര-
12 മാവുക്കു കിഴക്കു വടവെൽക വായ്ക്കാൽക്കു
13 തെക്കു ഇവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടന്ത കെ . . . . മാ-

1 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.
3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

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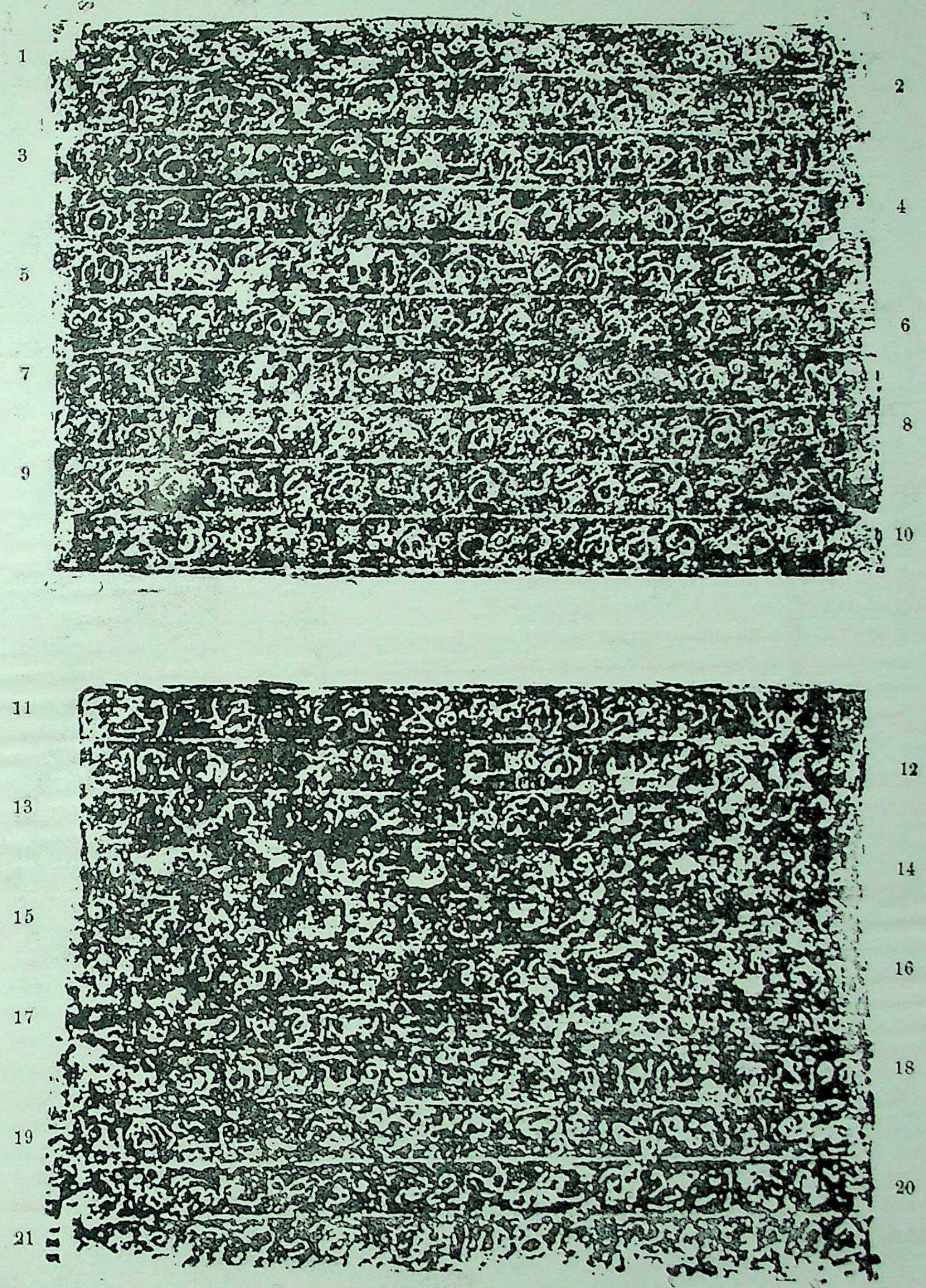
TIRUVIDAIKKODU INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar. Scale: one-eighths.

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14 . . . . . നിലം ഒരുമാ . . . . തക
15 ഉതകപൂൎവ്വ തൎമ്മതാനമാക ആചന്ദ്രതാ-
16 രവൽ തന്തതിപ്രദെശമെ അതികരിച്ചുക്കൊ-
17 ണ്ടു കന്നിഞായിററു വിശാകം ആട്ടൈത്തിരു-
18 നാളുക്കു തിരുവിടെക്കൊട്ടു മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാതെ-
19 വക്കു ഇല്ലളവി[നാൽ] ൻ നാഴി [1]ചെയ്യ അരിയും ഒ-
20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തിരണ്ടു പെയർ പിരാമ്മണൎക്കു അമു-
21 തെയക്കു നടത്തിപ്പൊകുമാറു ഇല്ലൈ ആക[2]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr, who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīḻkaḷakūṟṟam is to the south of Maṇalttiṭṭai in Nāñjināḍu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *taḍi* belonging to Mūtta-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tāḍi*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *taḍi*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* . . . . . was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *viśākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāḻi* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādēva of the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Kaṟpaka-śeṭṭi for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line.
2 The writing stops here.

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on new-moon days. It may be noted that Āḷūr was called Vikramachōḷa-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māṟavarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya or Jaṭāvarman Vikramaśōḷa-Pāṇḍya; and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōḷa king Rājēndrachōḷa-dēva.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ॥ ஆளூரா-
2 ன விக்கிரமசோழபாண்டி-
3 யபுரத்து உடையான் பா[ப்ப]னு-
4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாத்தனுக்கு ப-
5 ணக்குடுத்து அமாவாதி நாள்
6 பன்னிருவர் பிராமணரை
7 அமுதுசெய்விப்பது அது-
8 க்கு வேண்டுங் காய்ச்சா-
9 க்கும் கறி[யு*]ம் அட்டி ழி . .
10 . க . கற்பக . . . .
11 உப்பு நாழி பால் நாழி . . கு . .
12 .... வர் செய்-
13 ெ.............................. ஜெகு ॥

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Uḍaiyaṉ-Poṉṉāṇḍi and Uḍaiyāmaṅgala-naṅgai of Marudattūr, a village in Kuṟu-nāḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmans in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *ūrar* of Marudattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *oṉṟu*, *yiraṇḍu* and *mūṉṟu* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kaḍigaippaṭṭiṉam was also comprised in Kuṟu-nāḍu.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] துலாத்தில் வி[யாழன்] நின்ற மெடஞாயி-
2 ற்று குறுநாட்டு மருதத்தூர் உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and 48 of 1098 M. E.
2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. E. and 49 of 1098 M. E.

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3 ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உதையன் மங்-
4 கலநங்கையும் திருவிடைக்ெ-
5 காட்டு திருகொயிற்கல் வலிவஷ-
6 வக்ஷத்து ப்ராஹ்மணி ஊட்டுவான் க-
7 ற்ப்பிச்சது [।*] அகத்து திருவமிது-
8 க்கு அரி எண்ணாழியும் ப்ராஹ்மண-
9 ரெழுவற்கு கற்பிச்ச அரி பதிநானா-
10 ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பயற
11 நாழி எரிச்ச கறியும் [உ]லையும் நறு-
12 நெய் யுழக்கு மிளகு அரையுழக்கு
13 தெங்காய் ஒன்று மொர் மூந்நா-
14 ழிஉரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
15 ம் புளியும் விறகும் இலையும் ெ-
16 வற்றிலை யொரடுக்கும் அடைக்கா-
17 ய் எழுங் கூடி ப்ராஹ்மணிநாளில் ஊ-
18 ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்ச பூமி [।*] தொட்டிெ-
19 காட்டு வெளி மாங்கொட்டு ஞாவ·
20 ற்கற்றுடவல் நிலம் குறுணி ஐஞ்-
21 ஞாழியும் இதினொடு முடொக்கில்
22 கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும் கூ-
23 டி நிலம் முக்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியு-
24 ம் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலம்
25 இருகுறுணியும் பிலாவழறை நில-
26 ம் நாற்குறுணியுங் கூடி நிலம் அறு-
27 குறுணியுங் கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
28 ன்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அதிகரி-
29 க்கு மவர்கள் இம்மார்க்கெ-
30 மய் செலுத்திவருவது [।*] இ-
31 தில் ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டிர-
32 ட்டி [।*] யிரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட-
33 டியுந் தெண்டமு [।*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் மரு-
34 தத்தூர் ஊராருந் தெவகன்மிகளுஞ்
35 செலுத்திவிச்சுகொள்வது [।*] தொ-
36 ட்டிகொட்டு முடொக்கில் கூடிய
37 நிலத்தின்னு வரும் யிறை வரி நில-
38 ந் தளமுறியிலு மதின் தாழத்தை வ-
39 ட்டத்திலும் [பிராய]க்கற்றுடவலிலுங்
40 குடி எற்றி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் [கடமயி]-
41 றுத்து வருவது [।*] குழித்துடவலிலும பில-
42 ாவழறையிலும் ஒள்ள யிறை வரி நி-
43 லங் குடிமார் குழித்து[டவல்] நிலத்[தி]ல் கு-
44 டி எறறி அந்நிலமதிகரிக்குமவர் கடமயி-
45 றுத்து வருவது
46 இம்மாற்கமெ அநுஷ்டிதவற் செல்விது[1] [।।*]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

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Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Mēḍam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Udaiyāṉ-Poṉṉāṇḍi and Uḍaiyāṉ maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuṟu-nāḍu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādaśi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāḻi* of rice:

for seven brahmans, 14 *nāḻi* of rice;

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāḻi*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḻakku*, pepper half *uḻakku* each, cocoanut one, butter-milk three *nāḻi* and one *uri;*

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, fire-wood, leaves, one *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādaśi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvarkaṟṟuḍaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuṟuṇi* and five *naḻi* in Velimāṅgōḍu near Toṭṭikkōḍu, together with two *kuṟuṇi* of land in Muḍōkku, *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* and five *naḻi*;

land in Kuḍimār-ttuḍaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuṟuṇi*; land in Pilāvaḻarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuṟuṇi*; *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuṟuṇi*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḻi*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ūrār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tāḻamuṟi and those lying below it and [1]Jñāvaṟṟuḍaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Māḍōkku in Toṭṭikkōḍu. Those who supervise the lands in Kuḍimārkuḻi-ttuḍaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḻittuḍaval and Pilāvaḻarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Tāṉuvaṉ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1 Pirāykkuṟṟuḍaval may be Jñāvarkaṟṟuḍaval.

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The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkuḷam temple (*Nayiṉār Kalkuḷattu-mādēvar kōyilil dēvaputraril kaṇakku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man-servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvadāsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalavāsis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *agambaḍi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.[1]

First face

1 ஹரி: நன்ருக [।*]
2 திருநீலகண்ட-
3 சுவாமியுா அ-
4 ம்மை அனந்த வ-
5 ல்லி அம்மையும்
6 இலட்ச்சிக்க[।*] ே-
7 கால்லம் அா ஙம-
8 ருளு ஆவணிமீ ம் உடுநிவ
9 நயினா் கல்க்குளத்து மாெ-
10 தவா் ெ காவிலில் தெய்வ-
11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு பெருமாள்
12 தாணுவன் நாச்சியாா்க்கு-
13 ளக்கின் கரையில் அம்பல-
14 ம். நீா்[வ*]ாவியும் பெண்ணீ தீயும(ங்)
15 தண்ணீரும சுண்ணம்பும்
16 மாந்தலையும் நட்டு ஆக்கி-
17 ச் செய்கிற பெர்களுக்கு சந்-
18 திராதித்தவரைக்கும் விட்-
19 டு குடுத்த நிலமாவது [।*]நாஞ்சி-

Second side.

20 ஞட்டில் எறிச்சிகு-
21 ளத்தில் அய்யக்குட்டி
22 மாடன் ஓடு சொரா ெ-
23 வாற்றி கொண்ட நில-
24 த்துக்கு எல்லை-
25 யாவது [।*] மெ்ப்படி
26 ஊரில் பெய்ச்சா-
27 ன் குளத்தின் கிள் ந-
28 டுவில் மடைப்பொ-
29 க்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம்
30 அரமாவுக்கு எல்லை-
31 கயாவது கிழ் எல்லை-
32 க மணலிக்கரை
33 கண்டு உழவு நில-
34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
35 தென்னெல்லை
36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
37 நிலத்துக்கு வடக்-
38 கு மெல்லெல்லை-
39 க மணலிக்கரை
40 கண்டு உழவு நில-
41 த்துக்கும் கிளக்கு வட-
42 எல்லை மெல்ப்படி
43 வகை நிலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

44 தெற்கு ஆக இவ்செர்ந்த பெ-
45 ருநான்கெல்லைக்கு உளப்பட்ட
46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமாவும் மெ-
47 ல்ப்படி ஊரில் [நா]றக்குள-
48 த்தின கிழ்வடக்கு மடை-
49 ப்பொக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில-
50 ம் காணியரைக்காணி-
51 க்கு எல்லையாவது கிழ்-
52 எல்லை தாழைப்பெரு-
53 மாள் நிலத்துககும் மெ-
54 க்குத் தென்னெல்லை
55 அய்யப்பன் பெருமாள்
56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் குடு-

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57 த்த நிலத்துக்கும வடக்கு
58 மெல்எல்லை எடுத்-
59 த(ா)பாதம் பிள்ளை நில-
60 த்துக்கும் கிழக்கு வடஎல்-
61 லை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-
62 க்கும் தெக்கு ஆக இவிசெர்ந்-
63 த பெருநான்கு எல்லை-
64 க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி
65 ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-
66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
67 தடி யிரண்டினுல் நில-
68 ம் முக்காணி அரை-

Fourth face.

69 க்காணிக்கு உண்-
70 டான இறைகளும்
71 பொக்கி செழும்
72 ஒள்ள மிச்சவார-
73 ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-
74 லெ யிருந்து தீயும்
75 தண்ணீரும் சு-
76 ண்ணாம்பும் உப்-
77 பு ஊறுகாயும்
78 குடுத்து விளைகுறை
79 ஆராய்ந்து நடுத-
80 ல் நட்டு இருக்கிற செ-
81 பர்கள் அடுத்து யா-
82 விச்சு கொள்ளுவ-
83 ாராகவும் இப்படி
84 யாவிச்சு பொருசெ-
85 மடத்து இந்த நில-
86 த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்
87 ம்மர்த்துக்கும் அகு-
88 தம் செய்கிற பெர்-
89 கள் கெங்கைக்க-
90 ரையில் காராம்ப-
91 சுவை கொன்ற செ-
92 தாழத்த பொவார் ஆ-
93 கவும் [||*].

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tirunīlākaṇṭha and goddess Ānandavalli protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumāḷ-Tāṇuvaṇ of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādēva at Kalkuḷam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkuṭṭi-Māḍaṇ in Erichchikuḷam in Nāñji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappālaṇ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Maṇalikkarai; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— *i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāṟa]-kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tāḷaipperumāḷ; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāḷ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eḍuttapādam-Piḷḷai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

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the land belonging to Āṇḍār *i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries;—

in all, two *taḍi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmans during *dvādaśi* in the temple of Kōḍambīśvaramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār at Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Maṇavāḷakkuṟichchi in Kaḍaigaippaṭṭaṇam, a village of Kuṟu-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.

Rājarā-Teṉṉāḍu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which Rājarāja had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kaḍigaipaṭṭaṇam was situated in Kuṟu-nāḍu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kuṟichchi* and *paṭṭinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kuṟichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kuṟiñjinila-mākkaḷ* or hill tribes and *paṭṭiṉam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (*e. g.*, Nāgappaṭṭiṉam, Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṉam)[1].

Text.[2]

1 [சகா]த்தம் ௧௲௬௱-
2 ௪௰௯ செல்லாநின்ற
3 மெட வியாழம் நின்-
4 ற கொல்லம்[3] ௯௱௨ ன்
5 பிலவங்கவருழம்
6 மெடமாதம் ௨௰௧ ெ-
7 சன்ற புதனாட்சை-
8 யு யகவும் பூர்[வ*]பக்ஷ-
9 த்து தெசமியும் கர[ச*]கர-
10 ணமும் வைறுத்தி நித்தி-
11 யயொகவும் பெ[ற்*]ற-
12 ந் நாளால் திருவிடை-
13 கொட்டு கொடம்பி-
14 இச்சுரமுடைய நயி-
15 னார் திருமுக்கால் வ-
16 ட்டத்தில் இருந்து இரா-
17 சராச தென்னாட்டுக் கு-
18 றுநாட்டு கடிகைபட்ட-
19 ணம் மணவாளகுறி-
20 ச்சியில் கணக்கு[3] பெருமான் க-
21 ண்டன் துவாதெசி ஊ-
22 ட்டுக்கு தானப்பிறமா-
23 ணமாக விட்ட நிலம்மா-
24 வித [।*] திருவிடைக்கெ-
25 காட்டு செய்கொல்-
26 க்குளத்தின் கிழும் வெ-

Second face.

27 ப்பறைக்குள-
28 த்தின் கிழும்
29 நீருண்டு நெல்

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1 குறிச்சி சிற்றூரே சீறூர் குறிஞ்சிநன்னிலத்தூர்ப்பேராம்
பதிக்கடு முல்லையூரே பாடி பட்டினமே நெய்தல் — *Chuḍāmaṇi.*

2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19; '81; 32.

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30 விளையும் த-
31 ட்டான்துட-
32 வல்லும் வெ-
33 ப்பறையும் தடி
34 உ வ [1]அபயும் உ-
35 ளற்றிக்குளத்தி-
36 ன் கிழ் ஊற்று
37 உள்ளிட்ட தடி
38 க வ களயும்[2]
39 இடைக்கெ-
40 ாட்டு பற்றில்
41 இடைக்கெ-
42 ாட்டு குளத்-
43 தின் கிழ் ம-
44 திலடி
45 க வ[3] நூயும் க-
46 ணிஞாட்டு-
47 பற்றில் புங்-
48 கறைக்குள-
49 த்தின் கிழு[ம்*]
50 க்ஷ தனிக்கு-
51 ழ்க்கிழும் செ-
52 சல்லன்குள-

Third face.

53 த்தின் கிழும் நிரு-
54 ண்டுநெல் விளையும்
55 நெடுங்கண் தடி
56 க வ சுப[4]யும் க்ஷ புரவி-
57 ல் நடுவுக்கொடு
58 தடி க வ[5]தயும் ஆக தடி
59 நுல் வ[6] உளஎப-
60 யும் துவாதெசி ஊ-
61 ட்டுக்த சடையப்பர்
62 கொவில் ஊ-
63 ட்டுபிரை மெக்கெ-
64 க நடையில் கல்லு
65 வெட்டி நாட்டுகையி-
66 ல் இந்த வ உாஎபயும்[6]
67 பிரமத்துவமாக தி-
68 ருவிடைக்கொட்டுக்

69 கணிஞாங்கொடு
70 கிராமத்கார் வசம் கை-
71 ய்யாளிக்கெயில் சி-
72 பண்டார்க்கும் யடி
73 கடமையும் இறுத்து
74 [து*]வாதெசி தொறும் நு-
75 யசு ப்ராமணர்க்கு
76 ஊட்டுபிரையில்
77 வைச்சு ஊட்டு ந-
78 டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்

Fourth face.

79 தறவாட்டில்
80 துவாதெசி-
81 தொறும் சவ
82 அரிசி சொறும்
83 கொடுத்து தற்-
84 ம்மபத்தர் செ[க]-
85 ள்ப்பிச்சு
86 ஆசெந்திர-
87 வற் ஊட்டு
88 நடத்திக்கொள்-
89 வாராகவும்[।*] இந்-
90 த தற்ம்மத்தை
91 நடத்திவருகி-
92 றவன் கெங்-
93 கைக்கரையி-
94 ல் காராம்பசு
95 தானம் செ-
96 ய்த பலத்தை-
97 த யடைவாரா-
98 கவும்[।*] இத்தற்-
99 மம் முடக்கின
100 பெர்கள் கெ-
101 ங்[கை] கரையில்
102 காராம்பசுவை-
103 வக் கொன்ற தொ-
104 ழம் அடையவும்[।*]
105 இந்த கல்லு
106 . . . . . [7]

1 தடி உ நிலம் எண்குறுணியும்.
2 நிலம் ஒரு கலனும்.
3 நிலம் முக்குறுணியும்.
4 நிலம் அறுகுறுணியும்.
5 நிலம் தூணியும்.
6 நிலம் இருகலனே எழுகுறுணியும்.
7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டியது'.

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Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēḍam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēḍam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)-karaṇam* and *vairutti-nityayōga*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ, the accountant of Maṇavāḷakkuṟuchchi (a hamlet of Kaḍikaipaṭṭaṇam in Kuṟu nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkālvaṭṭam*) of (the god) Kōḍambīśvaramuḍaiya-nayiṉār of Tiruvaḍaikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following: —

two *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṉ-tuḍaval and Vēppaṟai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kuṟuṇi*, which are irrigable by the Śeykāl and Vēppaṟai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūṟṟikkuḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* under the Iḍaikkōḍu tank in Iḍaikkōṭṭu-paṟṟu;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuṟuṇi* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgaraikkuḷam, Taṇikkuḷam, and Śellaṅkuḷam in Kaṇijñāṭṭu-paṟṟu;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Naḍuvukkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūṇi*:

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuṟuṇi* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmans) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuṟuṇi* was left as *brahmasvam* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruviḍaikkōḍu and Kaṇijñāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmans should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nāḻi* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *taravaḍ* of Perumāṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharmakarttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone . . . .

No. 44— Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruvidaikkodu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

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place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the lables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasi, 12, when the *śuṟṟ-maṇḍapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

1 பாறைச்சாலை
2 தெசத்து கண-
3 க்கு நாகன் ஆ-
4 திச்சன் பத்தி
5 ஒன்றுக்கு கொடு-
6 த்த ௳ ௱௨௰

B

1 பள்ளத்து
2 பள்ளச்சை
3 ரும்பய்யன்
4 கண்ணன்
5 பத்திகக்கு
6 ட [௱௨௰]

C

1 கழைக்கூட்ட-
2 ம் தெசத்து
3 கணக்கு இரா-
4 மன் தெவன்
5 செய்வித்த பத்-
6 தி க க்கு ௳ [௱௨௰]

D

1 பாத்திசெகர-
2 மங்கலம் தெ-
3 சத்தில் ஒற்றவி-
4 ளாகத்து விட்டில்
5 செகிவிச்ச ப-
6 த்தி க

E

1 குட்டமங்க-
2 லங் தெசத்து
3 கணக்குப் பெரு-
4 மனை தர்மன்
5 கிட்டணன் செ-
6 ய்வித்து கு-
7 டுத்த பத்திக

F

1 மருதத்தூர்
2 தெசத்து க-
3 ணக்கு இச்சு-
4 வான் அய்யப்ப-
5 ன் செய்விச்ச
6 பத்தி கக்கு ௳ [௱௨௰]

G

1 திருவிடை-
2 க்கொட்டு
3 தெவர் புத்-
4 திரரில் புது-
5 வூர் சடை-
6 யன் சங்-
7 கரன் தூண்

H

1 குழிக்காட்டு சா-
2 த்தன் அரஙஙன்
3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
4 ஒன்று

I

1 பள்ளத்து
2 சிறபள்ளி மருதன்
3 நாகன் செ-
4 யிவிச்ச பத்தி
5 க க்கு ௳ . .

J

1 நடுவில் விளாட்-
2 டுரையில் நலத்-
3 தான் பெருமாள்
4 செய்விச்ச
5 பத்தி க

K

1 ௭௱௬௰௯ ௵ அற்பசி
2 மாதம் ௰௨ மாச்சி-
3 கொட்டு முடவம்-
4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
5 ருவடி நயினார்
6 திருவனந்தாழ்வான்
7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
9 . த்த ௳ ௱௨௰

L

1 ௭௱௬௰௯ ௵
2 அற்பசி மாத-
3 ம் ௰௨ திருக்கா-
4 . ண்டபத்தம .
5 யில் தெக்கெ ந-
6 டையும் வடக்-
7 கெ நடையும

8 . . குற்ற . .

9 . . வித்தவ . . .

10 . . . . . .

M

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] மருதத்தூர் தெவன்

2 கொளன் எழுந்தருளிவிச்ச

3 திருப்பூப்பலகை

N

1 கல்லாற் பொதிக்கு சடயப்பர் துணை

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavatī temple at Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉār for offerings and worship to the god Vināyaka set up by him in the *maṭha* of the village and named ChidambaraViṉāyaka-ppiḷḷaiyār, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10; ·83; f.d.n. ·14.

Text.[1]

1 மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொ-

2 ல்லம் ௮௱௬௰௪ ௵ காத்திகை

3 ௴ ௰௧௨ சனியாட்சையும்

4 சொதியும் அமரபக்கிழ்சத்து

5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாக்கி-

6 யயொகமும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்

7 பெற்ற இன்னாழால் எழுதின உத-

8 கபூறுவ தன்ம[த]ான பட்டைய-

9 மாவது [।*] தென்னாட்டுக்குறு நா-

10 ட்டு விரநாராயணசெரிக் கி[ழ்]பால்

11 கள்ளியங்காட்டில் சிதம்பரம்

12 இளையநயினானென் ஷெ யூரில் மட-

13 த்தில் சிதம்பர விநாயகப்பிள்ளை-

14 யார்க்கு உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான-

15 ப் பட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்த நில-

16 மாவது [।*] ஷெ யூரில் அஞ்சனவன்

17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடித்சனிக்குழி-

18 யாலும் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்

19 முடங்கன் தடி கஉ உத௲ப[2]ம் தூலுக்-

20 க்கன் வயல் தடி கஉ உத உ௲ [3]ம் கிழ் ந-

21 டுவுத்தடி தடி கஉ தக௨ ௬உ[4] ம் கிழ்-

22 க்கரையடியும் தொழுவடி

23 ௲ம் ஆக தடி ௬உ த௲பம்[5] கொல்ல-

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1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 இருதூணி முக்குறுணி.

3 இருதூணிப்பதக்கு.

4 தூணி குறுணி நாநாழி.

5 தூணி முக்குறுணி.

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24 குளத்தின் கிழ் மெட்டுமேடைப்பெ-
25 ரக்கில் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கஉ[1] க-
26 ள உ.தம் நெடுங்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
27 யால் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி உஉஉ ள[2]ம்
29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கிழ்கரை-

Second face.

30 யடி தடி கஉ [3]களத-
31 பம் ஆக தடி பல்-
32 தினல் உ [4]அளப
33 ம் மநடுநகுழி
34 ஆலங்குழியில்
35 தனிக்குழி இர-
36 ண்டும் அஞ்ச-
37 னவன்குளத்தி-
38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்-
39 றும் ஆலடித்-
40 தனிக்குழியில்
41 நின்று அஞ்சன-
42 வன்கொணம்
43 உள்ளிட்ட பி-
44 ள்ளையார் நில-
45 த்துக்கும் தன்-
46 மபத்தா நில-
47 த்துக்கும் பொ-
48 க்கி உள்ள தண்-
49 ணீர் பிள்ளையா-
50 ர்க்கு ஒருகூறும்
51 தன்மபத்தாவு-
52 க்கு இருகூறுமா-
53 க நடப்பிச்சு-
54 க் கொள்ளவும்
55 நாஞ்சினாட்டு
56 அழகியபாண்
57 டியபுரத்து பெ-
58 ரியகுளத்தின்-

Third face.

59 (ங்)கிளகமாய் மெல்க்கால்ப்-
60 பொக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
61 பிள்ளையார் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
62 சொரா ஒத்தியும் கொண்டநிலம்
63 முதல் தடிதடி கஉ உளஉத। உ தடிதடி
64 உஉ [5]ள கூ ‖ [6] தடிதடி கஉ ௨ ௯௵ எ
65 ச தடிதடி கஉ உத—‖ ரு தடிதடி உந கஉ எ-
66 ஷ தடிதடி கஉ . உந ஷ தடி தடி கஉ சு-
67 ௯௵ எ ஆக தடி பலதினல் உ உ ப எக-
68 ‖| க்கும் ஆக உள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு
69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்து இயாவி-
70 ச்சு பொதுவாராகவும் [।*] இப்படி
71 இந்த உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான ப-
72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தென்
73 சிதம்பரம் இளையநயினானென்
74 சிதம்பர விநாயகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலனே இருதூணி.

2 இருகலம்.

3 கலனே தூணிக்குறுணி.

4 எண்கலனே குறுணி.

5 இருகலனே இருதூணி.

6 The symbols are not understood.

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75 ருக்கு [।*] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
76 இளைய நயினான் எழுத்து [॥*]
77 வெயொட்டுப்பற்றில் உ ௲௱௭௬
78 ||| க்கு இறை நெல் கோ[1] ௩௰௩௨ கள்ளி-
79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ [2]அளப-
80 க்கு கடமை நெல் கோ ௭௰௬ ஆக வகை
81 உ னல் ௵ க-க்கு கோ ௭௰௬௨ல் பிள்-
82 ளையார் பூசைக்கு கோ ௬௨ ந[4] விசெ-
83 ஷ பூசைக்கு கோ ௩ மடத்து பண்டார-
84 த்துக்கு கோ ௰௩௨ பரதெசியக்கு கோ
85 உ௰௫ ௲ தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ ௰௨
86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ ௬ ஆக
87 ௱ க-க்கு சிலவு கோ ௬௰௯௨ ௶[5]

Fourth face.

88 மடத்தில் நம்முடைய
89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
90 னல் ஒரு நாள் பூசை
91 சிலவு நடப்பிச்சு குடு-
92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
93 இளையநயினான் பிறந்த
94 நாள் ஆடி மீ"ம் சித்திரைக்கு
95 பரதெசிகளுக்கும் நம்மு-
96 டைய ஊராருக்கும் வை-
97 ச்சூட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு ௵
98 ௰௫ள[7] க்கு உபையம் ௨
99 ௰௬[8] ௭ இயும் கொண்டு ந-
100 டப்பிச்சு கொள்வாரா-
101 கவும் மடத்துக்கு வெண்-
102 டும செய்தி நம்முடை-
103 ய ஊரார் விசாரித்து
104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
105 த்துக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
106 ஆராமொருவர் அகுத-
107 ம் நினைக்கிறவர் கெங்-
108 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
109 ம்பசுவை கொன்ற தெ-
110 தாஷமும் ப்ரம்முத்தி-
111 யின் தொஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை $33\frac{1}{8}$.

2 நிலம் எண்கலனே பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை $76\frac{1}{8}$.

4 கோட்டை $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$.

5 கோட்டை $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$.

6 நெல் பதினெங்கலன்.

7 நெல் கோட்டை $7\frac{1}{2}$.

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112 ய்யெப்பாராகவும் இ-
113 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் தன்மத்து-
114 க்கும் வெண்டுவது விளை-
115 க்கிறவர் கெங்கையிலெ
116 கொடி தானம் பண்ணி-
117 ன பலன் உண்டாகவும் [॥*]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Makara, on Saturday, the 11th day of Kārttigai which was the thirteenth *tithi* in the Amara-paksha, and had Svātī as the nakshatra with *saubhāgya-yōga* and *āṇai-karaṇa*—on this day the following deed of gift with libation of water was drawn up:—

The lands which I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉāṉ of Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu (a hamlet) to the east of Vīranārāyaṇachchēri in Kuṟu-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Teṉṉāḍu, gave as a charitable gift with libation of water and a deed, to Chidambara-Viṉāyakappiḷḷaiyār in the *maṭha* of the same village are the following:—

one *taḍi* of land (called) Mudaṅgaṉ, (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi* (of seed), irrigable for growing paddy under the tanks (called) Añjanavaṇkuḷam and Āladittaṇikuḷi;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tulukkaṇvayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and one *padakku*;

one *taḍi* of land in the eastern portion (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and four *nāḷi*;

land in the eastern bund and three *taḍi* of land in Toḷuvaḍi in all, four *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi* and three *kuṟuṇi*;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṉpaṟambu in the course of the eastern sluice of the Kollakuḷam (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* and two *tūṇi*;

two *taḍi* of land (called) Āyattuṟaivayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and irrigable for paddy from Neḍuṅguḷi and Ālaṅguḷi;

one *taḍi* of land at the eastern bund of Kāñjiraṅkuḷi (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam*, and one *kuṟuṇi*;

—thus in all, land many *taḍi* in extent and (having the sowing capacity) of eight *kalam* and one *kuṟuṇi* and two separate *kuḷi* of land in Neduṅguḷi and one in Alaṅguḷi.

Water shall be irrigated to (the lands belonging to) the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapattā* in the ratio of one to two, after (irrigating all) the lands belonging to the Piḷḷaiyar and the *danmapatta* lying between Āladittaṇikkuḷi and Añjanavankōṇam.

The land which was taken on permanent mortgage in the name of the *maṭha* of Piḷḷaiyār in Pēykkōṭṭupaṟṟu in the course of the western channel of the Periyakuḷam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñjinādu is one *taḍi* (having the sowing capacity) . . . .

For all these lands, all taxes shall be paid and the lands shall be occupied.

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Thus did I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayiṉāṉ, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambara-Vināyakappiḷḷaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayināṉ.

The tax on . . . . of land in Pēyoṭṭupparṟu is $33\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kuṟuṇi* of land in Kaḷḷiyaṅgāḍu is 43 *kōṭṭai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the worship of Piḷḷaiyār, 3 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{8}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for the *maṭha*-stores, $25\frac{3}{4}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy for mendicants (*paradēśis*), 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōṭṭai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *maṭha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ūrār* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Āḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Iḷaiyanayiṉār was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kōṭṭai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *maṭha* shall be looked after by the *ūrār* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *maṭha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *maṭha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of Vaishṇava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304(= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaishṇava saint Nammāḻvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D, if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvāḻmārbaṉ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammāḻvār describes the god as a sitting image of Vishṇu,

வருவார் செல்வார் வண்பரிசாரத்து இருந்த என்
திருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறம் சொல்லார் செய்வதென்—(VIII-3-7),

Piḷḷaipperumāḷ-Ayyaṅgār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrtti*.

அடியுங் குளிர்ந்தா ளறிவுங் குலைந்தாண்
முடிகின்றாண் மூச்சடங்குமுன்னே—கடிதோடிப்
பெண் பரிசாரங்குப் பிறப்பித்து மீளுவார்
வண பரிசாரங் கிடந்தமாற்கு—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

திருப்பதிசாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின எம்பெருமான்

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and as the present image, a *saudha-mūrtti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Piḷḷaipperumāḷ has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவண்பரிசாரம் மிருந்த மாற்கு is more acceptable. *Māṟanalaṅkāram*[1] has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tirup*pati*sāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaishṇava works invariably call it as Tiruvaṇ-*pari*sāram.

On the east wall of the first prākāra of the Vishṇu temple.

Text.[2]

1 கொல்லம் ௲௮௰௯ ௵ ஆவணிமாதம் ௨௰ ௨ அமரபக்கிழத்து சத்த-
2 மியும் வெள்ளியாட்சையும் உரோகணியும் இன்னாளால் நயினார் திருவா-
ழுமார்ப நயி-
3 னார்க்கு ஆவணி௴ம் திருவோணத்திருநாள் நடக்கும்படிக்கு அக்கர
தேசிசகுர . . சம்புநாராய-
4 ண நம்பி கணக்காக ஷே௴ம் திருவோணத்திநாள் மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
ந்தருளிச்சு சிறப்புக்கு அமு-
5 துபடி ௨௰௯ ௨ பால் பாயிதத்துக்கு அமுதுபடி இருநாழி பாயிதத்துக்-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுக்குந் தேங்-
6 காய் ௨ பணிமாறவும் பக்கினாத்துக்கும் நெய் ௨யு இலையமுது ௰ க்கு
7 அடைக்காயமுது ௫ பாயிதத்துக்கு சக்கரை பலம் ௪ திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுக்கு எண்ணை ௫ கை-
8 . . , சாமம் க சீபாதந்தாங்கும் பிராமணர் பேர் ௪ க்கு ௴ ௨ வித்துவா-
ங்க
9 ௫௪(௫க)க்கு ௴ ௯ திருமுன் பந்தத்துக்கும் விளக்கும் ௴ ௨ திருச்சுற்றில்
எழுந்த
10 ருளிச்சால் நெத்தியத்துக்கும் பொரியமுது ௨௨ சற்கரை பலம் க இலைய-
11 முது ௰க்கு அடைக்காய் ௫ சாத்துப்படி பலம் இ நயினார் சடையபுர
முடை-
12 டயநயினார்க்கு அமுதுபடி ௨௨ அம்பனூற்கண்டஞ் சாத்தனுக்கு அ-
13 முதுபடி ௨௨யும் அம்மை திருப்பதிநங்கைக்கு அமுதுபடி ௨ ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-
14 யெ நடக்கும்படி கற்பித்து நாராயணநம்பி குடுத்த ௴ரூ௦ இந்-
15 த பணம் நூற்றன்பதும் சீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்-
16 தப் பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுதொறும் சீபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பூரித்தெழுந்த புணர் முலையைப் புல்லிவிடா
வாரித்தரளவடந்நிரைதாம்—நேரிழையாய்
மட்டார் பொழில் வண்பரிசார மாதவற்காட்-
பட்டாதரித்தனவோ பண்டு
— verse 549.

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

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17 ல் நின்றும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் க்ஷெயான் க-

18 ணக்காக துவாதெசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றுக மாதம்

19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி ௩-உக்கு ௨- ௭௨-உரியும் கரியமு-
து ௨- ௩-உ உரி

20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்கும்மாறு கற்பிதது க்ஷெயான் கணக்காக சிபண்-
டாரத்தில் குடுத்த

21 ௳டும் இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு சிபண்டாரத்தில் நின்றும் நட-
த்திப் பொதுவா-

22 ராகவும் [॥*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with saptami-*tithi* of the amara-paksha and Rōhiṇī-nakshatra, Śambu-nārāyaṇa-Nambi gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on Tiruvōṇam in the Āvaṇi month to the god Tiruvāḷmārban with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *śirāppu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the Tiruvōṇam day, one *padakku* and six *nāḻi* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāḻi* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḻākku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḻākku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāḻi* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, ½ *palam* of *śāttuppaḍi*, 2 nāḻi of rice to the god Śaḍaiyapuramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār, 2 *nāḻi* of rice to the Śāstā of Ambanūrkaṇḍam, and one *nāḻi* of rice to the goddess Tiruppatinaṅgai.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every dvādaśi day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāḻi* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, Kuppāṉ-chiṭṭi of the village of Piḷḷaiyārkōyil, a hamlet of Kalkuḷam in the Kollam year 961.

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Text.[1]

1 ௯௱௬௰௧ ௵ ஆவணி ௴
2 ௰௩௨ குருவாரமும் அசுபதி-
3 நட்செத்திரமும் யின்னாள்
4 திருப்பதிசார கொயில்
5 ஒத்தைக்கல் மண்டபம்
6 சன்னதிநடையில் கல்[கு]-
7 ளம் பிள்ளையார்கொயில
8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் சிட்டி
9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தள[ம்]-
10 ப் பணி திருவாளிமா[ற் ப]-
11 ன் சுவாமியை சதாசெர்ை[வ] [॥*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottaikkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tiruppatisāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvāḷimārbaṉ by Kuppāṉ-chiṭṭi of Piḷḷaiyārkōyil-grāmam in Kalkuḷam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Śiva temple at Kuḻitturai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palæographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramaṉṟam for feeding brahmans.

Text.[2]

1 சர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று அமாவாஸி நாள் நாகமங்க-
2 லத்து தெவன் தெவன் பளையரிக்கண்டமு[ம்*] ஊம-
3 ன் [து]டவனும் ஆயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரமந்[3] தெவனு-
4 ல் ஒற்றிகொண்டு ௰௨ பிராமணர் அமுர்து செய்-
5 த்தின்னு கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒற்றியோலெ இரண்டுனும்[4] அ-
6 ச்சு நாலெகால் நிலம் முக்குறுணி ஆயிரமன்றத்-
7 து கெசவங் கு[ன்]றைமெல் உரி அரி செலவின்ன அயிர-
8 மன்றத்து பத்தருபன் திருவிக்கிரமன் வெண்டும் அ-
9 ச்சு அஞ்சு [।*] செறுகுண்டேர் குளகிழைக் கவி ஒபாதிக்கு
10 பூவழி
11 நெல் நால்க்குறுணி பாகொட்டு கொடவறைமண் புரைய்-
12 யடமு மகின்மெனு மகின்கீழ் கண்டத்தின் மெனு[ம்*] வி-
13 ரிச்சிக விளக்கின்னு எண்ணை மடை அறுநாழி அ-

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1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

3 Perhaps we have to read விக்கிரமந்.

4 Read இரண்டானும்.

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14 ர் நாழி வெற்றிலை அடைக்காய் நூறும் மருதறைவ-
15 ளாகத்தின் மெல் எண்ணை மு[க்நாழி] அரி நா[ழி] உரி
16 சூழூர் கொண்ணிரத்தறை உழுதி மெல் வடக்கின் தெ[1]வர்-
17 க்கு விரி[ச்*]சிக விளக்கின்னு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பந்திருநா-
18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவமிர்தின்னு நெல் [க]லம்
19 மருதன் கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமெல் பூவழி தெவர்க்கு நெல்
20 [நா]ழி புதுமனைப் புரையிடத்தின் மெல திங்கள வாரம் அ-
21 ம்பலத்தில் அந்திவிளக்கின்னும் நெய் நாழி உரி கடந்தான்கொ-
22 ட்டின்மெல் விள[நாவில் சிற]வித்து கடமையால் நெல் கலம்
23 பாறலூரவரள் தெக்கின[டத்து] கமு[ங்]கரைக்[கொ]ட்டின் மெலு-
24 ந் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு நந்தாவிளக்கிமர[2] நெய் [நா]ழி[3]
25 செருப்பாடியறை மெல் பத்தனபன் குட்டன்
26 வெண்டு[ம்*] அச்சு
27 உ௱உ௰ரு

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkaṭaka, Vikkiraman-Dēvan of Āyiramanṟam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Paḷaiyarikkaṇḍam and Ūmantuḍaval belonging to Dēvan-Dēvan of Nāgamaṅgalam, ordered the feeding of 12 brahmans and assigned $4\frac{1}{4}$ *achchu* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of land (incorrect for paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhan-Tiruvikkiraman of Āyiramanṟam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kunṟaraimuri of Kēśavan of Āyiramanṟam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kuṟuṇi* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śeṟukuṇḍūr, the yield from the *puraiyiḍam* of Koḍavaṟaiman in Pākōḍu as well as from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḻi* of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḻi* of rice, betel leaves, areca-nuts and chunam:

three *nāḻi* of oil and (one) *nāḻi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called) Marudagai-viḷāgam: 12 *nāḻi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the field of Konṉirattaṟai in Sūḻūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal:

(one) *nāḻi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kāḷarai in Marudaṅkōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḻi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudumaṉaippuraiyiḍam is for the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from . . . . of Kaḍandāṉkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhaṉ-Kuttaṉ of Śeṟuppādiyaṟai received 225 *achchu* from (the income of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḻi* of ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the people of Pāralūr.

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1 வ looks like த.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like கிமர.

3 This may also be read as கழி but நாழி is the correct reading.

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No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archæological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

"Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible."

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

All the three specimens are double-die coins; but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the punches, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural purity of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it, is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

(1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
(2) a *Svastika* symbol;
(3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadāsa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *liṅga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
(4) the Crescent, and
(5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

(1) an *aṅkuśa* or elephant-goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
(2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
(3) a *bhadraghaṭa* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
(4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

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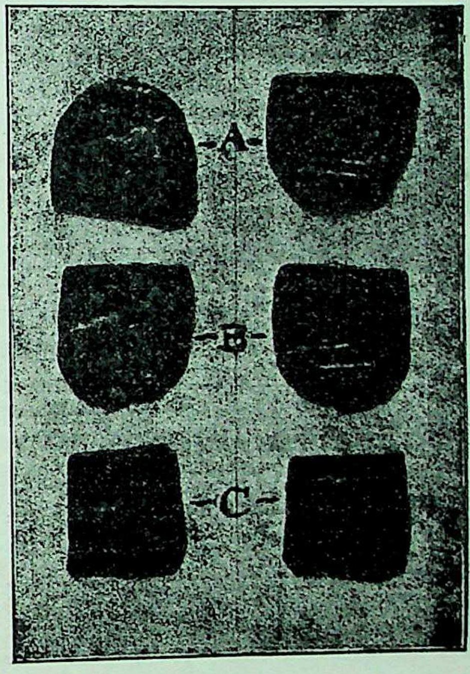
THREE CHERA COINS.



Same size.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

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The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted. would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,[1] on the coins of the Āndhra,[2] the Yādava,[3] and the Koṅgu[4] dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgas,[5] and Vijayanagara kings[5], on the Mysore issues— both Indian[6] and Muhammadan,[7] and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley[8]. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,[9] of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus[10] (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*[11] (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness[12]. The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandrārkam*' and '*chandrādityar-uḷḷavarai*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India.*

2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid.*

3 No. 92 on Plate III, *Ibid*

4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid.*

5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 304.

6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*

7 Henderson's *Coins of Haidar and Tippu.*

8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India.*

9 Rapson(p. 36.

10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.

11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.

12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Jivakachintāmaṇi*:

பரந்தொளியுமிழும் பைம்பொற் கண்ணடி பதாகை தோட்டி
விரிந்திருண் மேயுஞ் செம்பொன் விளக்கு வெண்முரசு கும்பஞ்
சுரந்தவெண் மதியைச் சூன்று கதிர்கொண்டு தொகுத்தபோலும்
பொருந்து பொற்கதிர்பெய்கற்றை புணர்கயல் போந்தவன்றே— *Gandaruvadattaiyar*, v. 137.

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additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandrādityakula,[1] the luni-solar race. The *aṅkuśa*[2] (Tamil-*tōṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalaśa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Kodlūr plate[3] of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achchu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,[4] was current both in the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam[5] and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiriyakki-achchu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Uṇḍi-achchu* and *amudaṉ-achchu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achchu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyanturuttu by Kumaraṉ-Śrīkaṇṭhan Tirumūlpād of Maññāḍu to Davidaikkel Paradēśi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayāḷam characters and found among the *ōlai* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*kochchiyil-kuḍi-irikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvida may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *koṇḍāṉ* in l. 8.

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1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59.

2 *Elements* of *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paisa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav. Archl. Series*, Part I, Vol. III.

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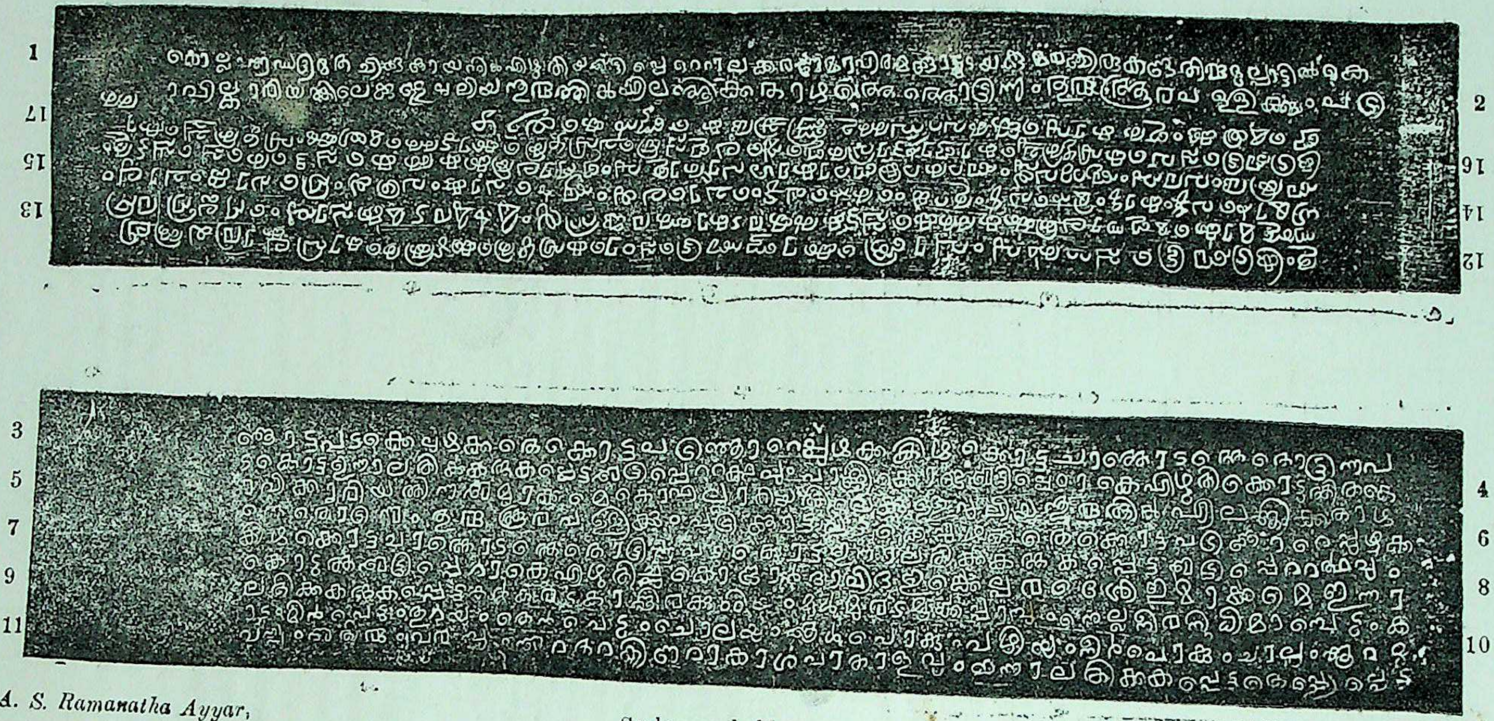
To face page 165.

COPPER PLATE DATED KOLLAM 925.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar,

Scale: one-half.

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Text.

First side.

1 കൊല്ലം ൯൨൫ മത ചിങ്ങഞായററിൽ എഴുതിയ അട്ടിപ്പെറോലക്കര-
ണമാവിത [ു*] മ[ാ*]ങ്ങാട്ടടയ കുമരഞ്ചിരികണ്ട തിരുമൂൽപാട്ടിൽ
കെ-

2 ാവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പുലിയന്തുരുത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴത്തെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തുരപള്ളിക്കും പടി-

Second side.

3 ഞ്ഞാട്ട വടക്കെപുഴക്ക തെക്കൊട്ട പടിഞ്ഞാറെപുഴക്ക കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാ-
ത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന് വ-

4 ടക്കൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തെകപ്പെട്ട അട്ടിപ്പെററത്ഥവും വാങ്ങികൊണ്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തിത കെ-

5 ാവിക്കാരിയത്തിന്ന അമ്മാക്കമെ കൊവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പുലിയന്തു
രുത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴ-

6 ത്തെ ത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തിരപള്ളിക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാട്ട വടക്കെപുഴക്ക തെ-
ക്കൊട്ട പടിഞ്ഞാറെപ്പുഴക്ക

7 കിഴക്കൊട്ട ചാത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്ന വടക്കൊട്ട ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെററത്ഥവും

8 കൊടുത്ത അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാൻ ദാവിതഇക്കെല്ലരതെചി
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാ-

9 ലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ചിരക്കുററിയും മുൾ മുരട മുരക്കപ്പുരംപും
നെല്ലു നീര നിധി മാംപെടും ക-

10 ാട്ടും മീമ്പെട്ടും തുറെയും തെൻപെട്ടും ചൊലയും ആൾപൊകും വഴിയും
നീർപൊകും കാലും ആററു-

11 വയ്പ്പും അതിരും പരമ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാക്കാ ച പാതാളവും ഇന്നാല
തിക്കകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ട-

First side (contd).

12 തും കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെററത്ഥവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ട അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
ടുത്തിത കൊവിൽക്കാരിയത്തി-

13 ന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ഞിരക്കുററിയും

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മുൾ മുരട മുരക്കപ്പുരമ്പും നെല്ല നീര നി-

14 ധി മാൻപെട്ടും കാട്ടും മീൻപെട്ടും ഉൗറയും തെൻപെട്ടം ചൊലയും ആറു
പൊകും വഴിയും നീർപൊകും കാലും

15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആററുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാകാച പാതാളവും
ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും

16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാൻ ദാവിതഇക്കെൽ[പരദെശി*] [॥*]
ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-

17 ണ്ടമെയിക്കും ഇത കാവുങ്കെൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിരുകണ്ടൻ കയ്യെഴു-
ത്ത [॥*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Simha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the Elaññi and Turutturapaḷḷi, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of Śāttōḍu–which were under the management of Kumaraṉ-Śirikaṇḍan Tirumūlpāḍ of Māṅṅāḍu, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *aṭṭippēṟu* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind Elaññi and Turutturapaḷḷi, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in Śāttōḍu—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for Dāvida-ikkel-paradēśi. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel- beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by Dāvida-ikkel-paradēśi.

This is the signature of Uṇṇi Śrīkaṇṭhan of Kāvuṅgal-paṟambu (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

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No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Siva temple at Iḷamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vīra Mārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Iḷamba.

Text.

1 ഇളമ്പൈ പുതിയകോയിക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാൎത്താണ്ട

2 ഇരവിവൎമ്മ തിരുവടിക്കമൈന്തെ കൊയിക്ക-

3 ന്മികെൾ ചെയ്യിച്ച തിരുപ്പണി ൭൱൮൰൧ മാണ്ട

4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-

5 ണ്ടപമും പണിചെയ്യിച്ച [൭]൮൩ മാണ്ട കലശം[॥*].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Iḷamba by the officers of the king Śrī Vīramārttāṇḍa Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the maṇḍapa which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-ambalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Iḷamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.

1 വരിക്കംപ-

2 ലി ഇരാമപ്-

3 പിള്ള ചെയി-

4 പ്പിച്ച തൂണ

B.

1 നാണി

2 ചെല്വര-

3 ായപ്പി-

4 ള്ള ചൈ-

5 യിച്ച തൂണ

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A. B. C. D.—Registered as Nos. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

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C.		D.	
1	നവരക-	1	அது உரு
2	ത്തു ചാരി-	2	முக்காணி
3	കമരൻ കെ-	3	கலதின
4	ചവൻ ചെ-	4	நல்ல
5	യിച്ചു തുണ	5	ப் பெருமாள்
		6	ஊ- ஆண்டி

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Ṟarṯīcha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *ṟ* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āṭchandira* for *āchandra*, *Ṟarṯitcha* for *Raktāksha*, *detchaṇāyina* for *dakshiṇāyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eḻuttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repitition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eḻuttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōgippara-dēsis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṇavāḷ* of the temple at Suchindram. [1]*Āṇavāḷ* (or *āṇaivāḷ*, *āṇaivāḷ* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āṇai* (skt. *ajña*). *Āṇiyam* and *āṇatti* (skt. *ājñapti*) occur in Huzur Office plates of Karunandaḍakkaṇ. *Āṇaivāḷ* is divisible into *āṇai*+*vāḷ* and may be analogous to the suffix in *nāḍuvāḷ* and *vāḻkkai-vāḷ* of records. *Āṇavālu* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

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who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāḷ—agattu-āṇavāḷ* and *puṛattu-āṇavāḷ* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēśis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Emberumāṉ:—

'சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திருமூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாலத்து'

and 'பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு'—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 சகாற்தம் [௲௩௱] [௬௰*]௭ன் மெல்ச் செல்லாநின்ற தனுவ்யாழம் மிதி
னச்சனி கொல்லம் ௬௱[௨]௰௧ ௵ம் [றற்] றீட்ச ௵ தெட்ச-

2 ஞாயினமான அல்பசி ௴ ருவ [2]சொமவாரமும் புணர்பூசநட்செத்திறமும்
திதி பூறுவபட்ச்சத்து சத்தமியும் சித்திரித்திய நாமயொகமும் ஆ-

3 னைகரணமு[ம்*] பெற்ற ஞள் னறு பகல் ௰௬ நாளிகையில் தனுராசி நேர
த்தில் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-

4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டயொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பேர் ௨௰௩ ம் ஆனைவாளாகக்
கண்டுகொள்ளும்படிக்கு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-

5 மூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான காலத்திலுகந்த அடிமைகள் யொகிப்பர
தெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலுந் திருவறையிலும்

6 காணும்படிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமுங் கைக்கொண்டு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமு
டைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிட்டு

7 உள்ளதுக் கெல்லாங் கெழ்விபு மாச்சினையுமாக ௲ம் பணமும் பிரி
ப்பிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தரமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடங்கின காராமை நிலம் ௨௰௧ன்படிக்கு ௨-
கொட்டை இருபத்துமூனும் ஆட்டவிசெஷமாக விசெ-

9 ஷத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அடுக்க படித்தரமும் மென்மெலும் அடியெந்தி-
ரம் பொலெ காராமை அதிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு

10 தெந்திருவெங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு நயி
னார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு

11 யொகிப்பாதெசிகள் பெர் ௨௰௩-ம் ஆச்செந்தரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக
நடக்கும்படிக்கு செம்பிலுஞ் சிலயிலும் வெட்டி-

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.
2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Ephemeris*.

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12 ப்பிச்சுக் குடுத்தோம் நயினர் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினர் கோவிலுக் குகந்த
தானத்தார்கள் எழுத்து . . . .

13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து

14 ஷ கணக்கு தாணுமாலையப்பெருமாள் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [||*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Ṛaṟtītcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūśam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāḻigai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāśi:—

the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Āṭkoṇḍa-yōgipparadēśigaḷ* as *āṉaivāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēḷvi* and *āchchiṉai* on all lands belonging to the temple of Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār, and Teṉ-tiruvēṅgaḍa-viṇṇavar-Emberumāṉ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōṭṭai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kārāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṉattār* of the temple of Nayiṉār Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayiṉār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēśis* were appointed as the *āṉaivāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāṇumālaiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu is engraved on the base of the suṟṟu-maṇḍapa (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṉ, a native of Kuṉṟattūr. The temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadakkan, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṉ and not as Aḍakkaṉ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

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1 The words *eḻuttu* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 7.

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Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] இடபத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு குன்றத்தூர் காமந் த
டக்கன் பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து தெவர்க்கு

2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிய[2] விளக்குக்கு எருக்கி[லை] மண்ணென்ற தொட்டமும்
புனவறை தடியிரண்டும் உதிக்கால்மண்க்கொட்டும் குலக்குடிப்பழ-[3]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Ṛishabha, Kāmaṉ-Taḍakkaṉ of Kuṉṟattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśēkhara-purattu-dēva, *vriśchika* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaimaṉ together with two *taḍi* of Puṉavaṟai as well as Udikkālmaṅkōḍu . . . . . .

Tirukkadittanaṁ Records.

Tirukkaḍittānam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Vishṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammāḻvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Vishṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, etc. The *Māṟanalaṅkāram*[4] of Tirukkurukaippirāṉ and the *Nūṟreṭṭu-tiruppati-antādi*[5] of Piḷḷaipperumāḷ-Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammāḻvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāymoḻi* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

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1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read விருச்சிக.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டாரழற்கான் மழைதழைக வான் பொருள்வாழ்
வுண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பென்ற—லண்டர்
மருந்தே பெறப் புரந்தமால் கடித்தானத்தா
னிருந்தே திறந்தேதிதற்கு. —*Māṟanalankāram*, v. 528.

5 காணவிரும்புமென்கண் கையுந்தொழவிரும்பும்
பூணவிரும்புமென்றன் புன்றலைதான்—வாணன்
திருக்கடித்தானத்தான்திகிரியான்றண்டான்
திருக்கடித்தானத்தானைச் சென்று. —*Nuṟṟeṭṭu-Tiruppati-antādi*, v. 72.

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Tirukkaḍittānam, the *Kēraḷōlppatti* and the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*[1] give it the denomination of Trikkoḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who weilded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*[2]. But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkadittanam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkaḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāmaṉ. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarmaṉ and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḻiṉṟa*, *vāḻunna*, *irunna*, *amaichcha*, *ammiñña*, *oḻiñña*, *pāḍutāññuvidu*, *kaḻaññu*, *nikkinnum*, *eḻudichchidu*, *viṭṭichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḻukiṉṟa*, *vāḻnda*,*irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *oḻinda*, *pāḍutāṅguvadu*, *kaḻañju*, *nīkkiyum*, *eḻudivittadu* and *viḍuvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti srī* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabhai*, *śa* in *dēśakālam* in (*l.* 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (*l.* 2).

Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi is the god's bath, *paḷḷi* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi* might also mean the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*paḷḷi* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,[1] where the five musical instruments, *jeṇḍai*, *timilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaittāḷam* and *kāḷam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkar however give another list of five instruments: *taṭṭaḷi*, *maddaḷi*, *karaṭigai*, *tāḷam* and *kākaḷam*.

Koṭṭāḍu-puḷḷippaḍil is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *puḷḷi* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*puḷḷi*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 മുക്കാലും ചെൻറിമയവർതൊഴും തിർക്കൊടിത്താനമമ്പി-
ൻറക്കാർവർണ്ണൻ ചരണയുഗളം കുമ്പിനേരേനടന്നാൽ

— *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, x. 126.

2. *T. A. S.*, Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

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fines from them; and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (*l.* 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakkettu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of Nāyar, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāduvālnna-nāyar* (*l.* 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañchamāśabdam*) in the temple of Bhatāra at Tirukkadittānam, for which service certain lands were given by Sēnnan-Tāyan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ūr*, *paridai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkan-Śrīkanthan of Manalmanram, who was the governor of Nanrulai-nādu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kalañju* of gold to the king (*perumānadigal*)

50 *kalañju* to the governor of the district (*nāduvālumavan*) and

25 *kalañju* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vālkkai-vālumavan* namely, the *dēsavāli*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīlśānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*panimakkal*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ūrālar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ūrālar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill-feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *munnūrruvar*-assembly (of Nanrulai-nādu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāman in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palæographical

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grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāmaṉ was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulaśēkhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripūṇittura temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōdai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādichchaṉ, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palæographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāmaṉ of the Tirukkaḍittāṉam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிரண்டு இ
தின் னெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற கர்க்கடகஞாயிற்று
திருக்கடித்தானத் தூராரும் பரடையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[ை]ழ
நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கஞ் சிரிகண்டனும் இவகள் மு
க்கால்வட்டத்து அவிரொத[த்*]தால்க் கூடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[||*] படாரருடைய பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாய
னுடைய இடையிடும் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறல்வெலிக்
ரியும் வட்டக்கரியும் பயிற்றுட்டியாகின்ற நிலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள கூ
றும் தென்வாய்ப் பலிக்கணத்தில்[2] அவன்னுள்ள படகாரமும் இச்
சொன்ன நிலமும் புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாயனுடைய
யிடையி டித்தனையும் மற்றும் பினுள்ளதெல்லாம் உள்ளொடுங்க ஊ
ரும் பரடையும் ஸபையும் இவகள் திருவுள்ளம் அவிரொதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுழை நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன்

2 பஞ்சமாஶப்த[3] அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [||*] நிராட்டுபள்ளி
க்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [||*] திருப்பலிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவிது
[|*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படில்ப் பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுவிது [|*] மூன்றுதெஶகாலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எறின நெல் கொடுத்து கொட்டுவிது [|*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெனி
மெலாட்டுவிது [|*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [|*] மற்றெழிஞ்ஞு
எண்ணை திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [|*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பலிக்கண்டத்தில்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமஹாஶப்தம்'—the five great sounds *viz.*, *jeṇḍai*, *timilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaittaḷam* and *kaḷam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates. *l.* 352-3.

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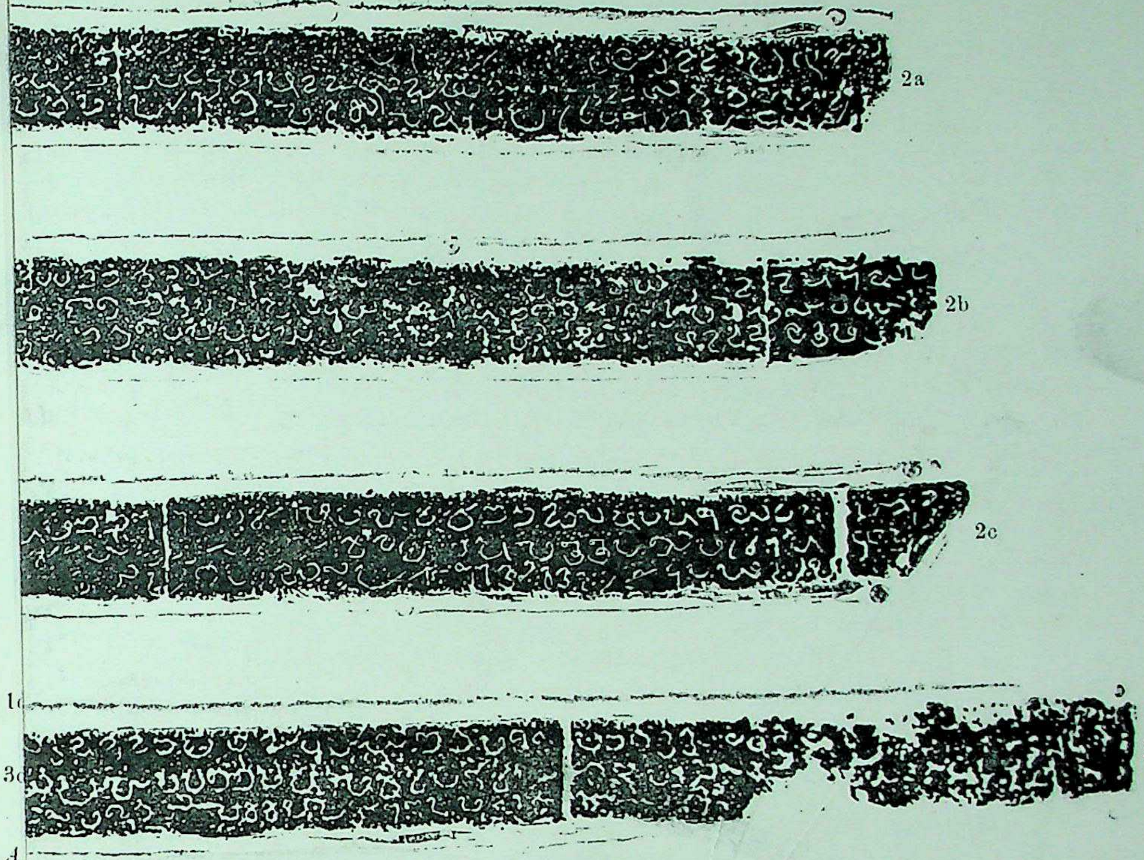
To face page 174.



Iyakkaṉ-Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ of Maṇalmaṉṟam governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, who was present, provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi*) and four (men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*puḷḷippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḻi*. If there is default for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's) bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing (the work of) *kīḻśānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

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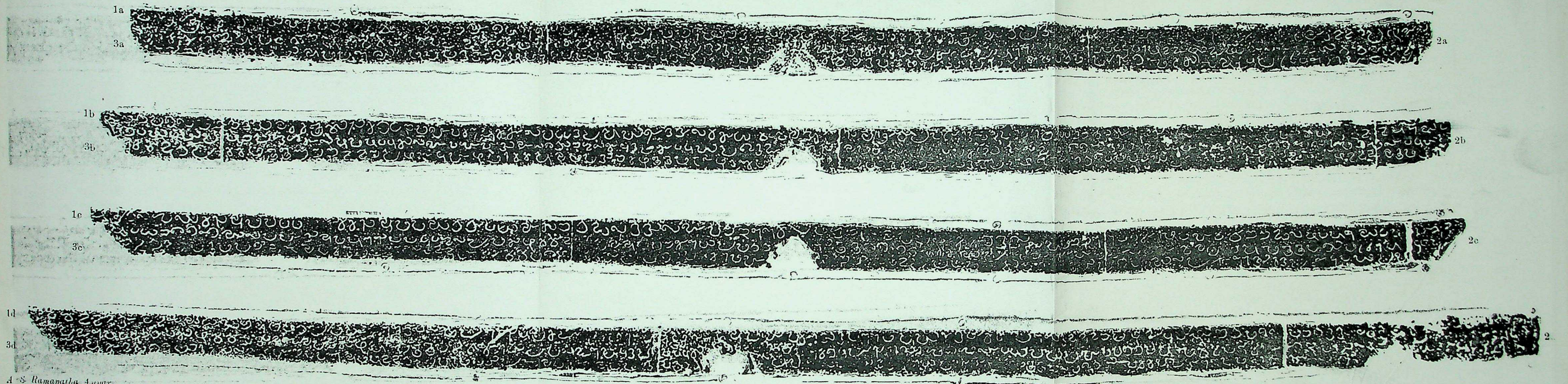
TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF RAVI-RAMA: 2 + 1½ YEAR.

To face page 174.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one eighths.

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ங்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [॥*] திருப்பலிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவித
[।*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படில்ப் பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுவிது [।*] மூன்றுதெஸகாலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எறின நெல் கொடுத்து கொட்டுவிது [।*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணெ திருமெனி
மெலாட்டுவிது [।*] ஆட்டின எண்ணெயில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [।*] மற்றொழிஞ்ஞ
எண்ணெ திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [।*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.
2 Probably பலிக்கண்டத்தில்.
3 Read 'பஞ்சமஹாஶப்தம்'—the five great sounds *viz.*, *jendai*, *timilai*, *śēgandi*, *kaittaḷam* and *kaḷam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates. *l.* 352-3.

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வான் அமைஞ்ஞு பணிமக்கள் அடுத்து மூன்றுநாள் முட்டுகில் கிழ்ச்
சாந்தியுடையவன் கிழ் அமைஞ்ஞு பரிசு கொள்விது [।*] பலநாள் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டின அள[வு*] கண்டு ஊராளர் திருமெனி மெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [।*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஸப்தும் விலக்கி மு
ட்டிக்குமவனும்

3 இதினுக் கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புரையிடமும் பத்தாயமும் விடுவ்விதாக [।*]
பாடுதாங்குவிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊராண்
மைக் கிடையிடுங் கெட்டு பெருமானடிகள்க்கு நூற்றுக் கழஞ்ஞு
பொன்னுந் நன்று[ை*]ழ நாடு வாழும[வ*]ர்க்கு அய்ம்பதின் கழ
ஞ்ஞும் வாழ்க்கைவாழுமவனுக்கு இருபத்தைங் கழஞ்ஞு பொன் ற
ண்டப்படுவிது [।*] இப்பரிசிங் நாடுவாழ்ந்த நாயரும் முந்நூற்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகளும் உள்ளிருந்து இக்கச்சம் எழுதிச்சிது [।*] பணிம
க்களும் இதினுக்கு வருந்துப்பு வி[ல*]க்கினும் வருவிது [।*] ஒயாயில்
ஊராளரெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [।*] இவகளில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழுமவரையும் முந்நூற்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகளையும்
உருவதிச்சு அவகளால் விட்டிச்சுக் கொள்விது [।*] இதினுக் கமை
ஞ்ஞு நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுங் கொள்ளவும் பெறார் [।।*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஶ்ரீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-Rāmaṉ was current, in the month of Karkaṭaka when Jupiter stood in Mīṉa, the *ūrār* of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, the council (*paradai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkaṉ-Śirikaṉṭhaṉ of Maṇalmaṉṟam governing Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu, met together amicably in the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the *ūr*, the *paraḍai* and the *sabhā* for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Śennaṉ-Tāyaṉ of Tenśēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he was residing, Jñāṟalvēlikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payiṟṟāṭṭi, and his share as *paḍakāram* in Teṉvāyppalikkaṉ[d*]am—with all these above-mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Śennaṉ-Tāyaṉ of Teṉśēri, Iyakkaṉ-Śrīkaṉṭhaṉ of Maṇalmaṉṟam governing Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu, who was present, provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupaḷḷi*) and four (men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*puḷḷippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḷi*. If there is default for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's) bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing (the work of) *kīḻśānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

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(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīḻśānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ūrāḷar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyīḍu*) under the *ūrāṇmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṉaḍi*), fifty *kaḻañju* to the chief governing Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu, and twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāḻkkai-vāḻumavaṉ*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Naṉṟuḻai-) nāḍu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ūrāḷar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ūrāḷar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍuwāḻumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkaḍittāṉam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkaḍittāṉam for feeding 24 brahmans in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu, was given administrative control over Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu also. As Tirukkaḍittāṉam, Peruneyil and Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

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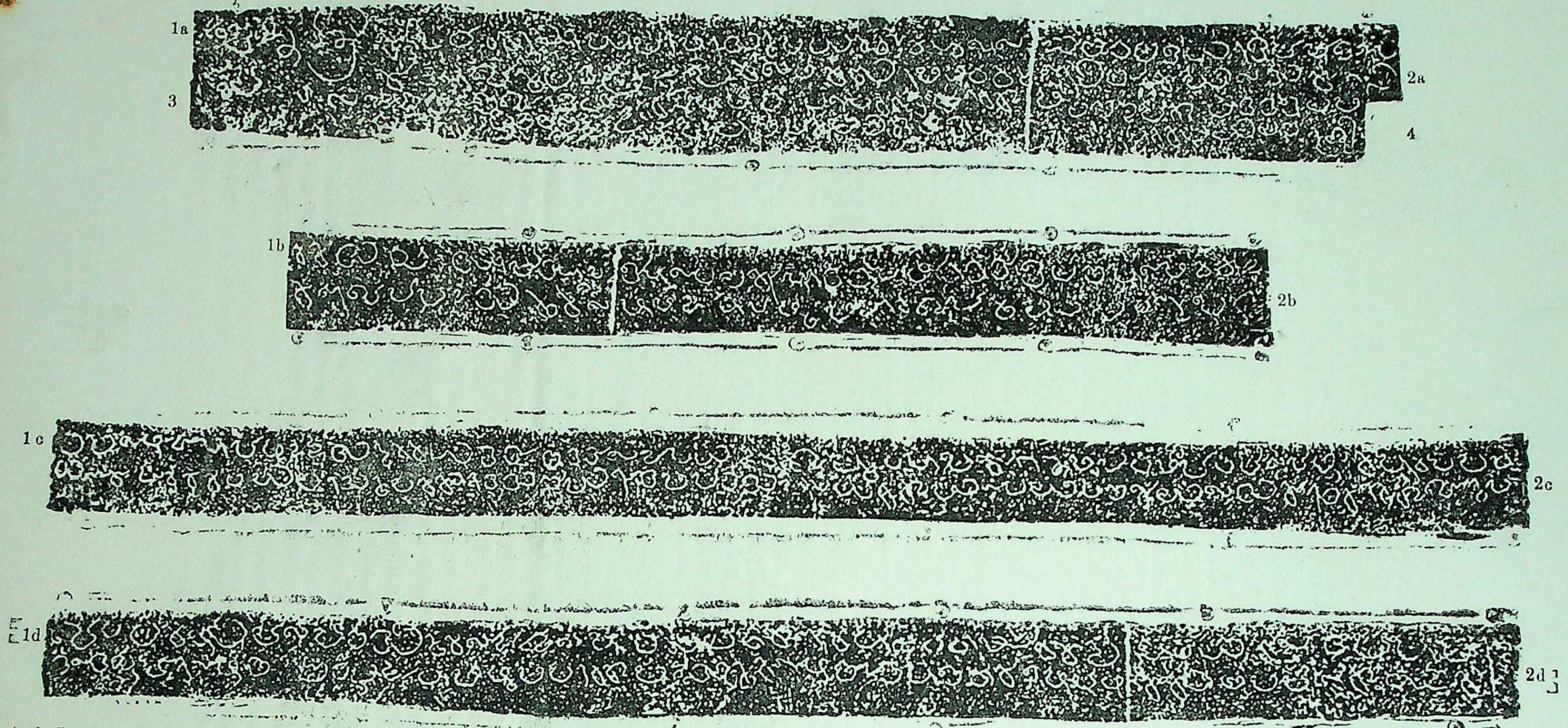
TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one-eighths.

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Vēṇāḍu, Nanrulainādu, etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated, to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayarāgadeva figuring as a *kōyiladhikāri* in the records of Sthāṇu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulaśēkhara-chakravartin in a Quilon epigraph of Kollam 278. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of '*ilangū-ṟu-vāḻunnaruḷiyār*', by which was meant that of the *ilankō* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*ilangō-kūṟu, ilangūṟu*); and that these *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devasvam Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *taliyādiri* of the *Kēraḷōlppatti* and the *taliyāḷvāṉ* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere[1] been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikāri* may have originated from the time when the Sāmanta-kshatriya chiefs whose services had been requisitioned by the brāhmanical landed gentry of Kēraḷa for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Sankētams* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription[2] of the time of Bhāskara-Ravi from Peruṉeyil mentions two individuals Ravi-Kaṇṇi of Veḷḷūr and Kumāra-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kuḷamangalam as the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ*, and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amachchu*, *vāḻnnu* and *kaḻaññu* are used in place of *amaittu*, *vāḻndu*, and *kaḻañju*.

Text.[3]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோப் பாக்கரவிரவிவர்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
யாண் டிரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் பந்திராமாண்டு வேணாடுடைய
4கோவர்த்தனம் மார்த்தாண்ட[னே] அஉமச்சு நன்றுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்து
திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டிலக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்ளும் உடம்பா
ட்டால் வாழ்க்கை ஆக [பாட்டு][5] இடங்கழியால் பந்திரு கலம் நெல்
ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[மை]ச்சு மிக்கது அட்டி கொடுத்து அது

1 *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 44.
3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (No. 94 of 1086).
4 Cancel ம்.
5 The reading is tentative.

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2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாலு கல மக்கிர மமச்சருளினர் கொவிலதிகாரிகள் [॥*] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூடிக் கொடுக்ககடவியர் [॥*] திருவக்கிரத்தினு விரொதம் பண்ணி முட்டிக்கு மிடையிடன் கொயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)ங் கழைஞ்ஞு பொன்னு நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞெ அஞ்சு காணமு வாழ்க்கை வாழுமவர்க்கு அறுக-

3 ழைஞ்ஞெ இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொன்னுங் கூடத் தண்டம்

4 படக்கடவியன் [॥*] பாடுதாங்குமவநு மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் ஸ்ரீ [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, the Kōyiladhikārigaḷ after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Vēṇāḍu, to administer Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkoḷ*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkaḍittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḻkkai*-tax) due to the *nāḍu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ūr* and *poduvāḷ* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḻumavaṉ*).

The *iḍaiyīḍaṉ* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikārigaḷ, twelve *kaḻañju* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḻañju* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḻkkaivāḻumavar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *poṉ* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam and is found engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu was administering Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

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in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhāskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Vēṇāḍu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad,* the *gaṇa* and the *poduvāḷ* of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*koṭṭigaḷ*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiluḍaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *uvachchars* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கொபாற்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
யாண்டிரண்டினெதிர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெணாடுடைய கொவர்
த்தனமா[ர்த்]தாண்டன் நன்றுழநாடுவாழத் [திருக்கடி]த்தானத்து

2 பரிடையுங் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] நன்றுழநா[ட்*]டு முந்
நூற்றுவரும் பணி செய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்றங் கொவிந்தனும்
[ஊம]மன்றத் திரவியிராமனுங் கூடி . . . . . . கச்சமாவிது [॥*] திரு
க்கடித்தானத்து

3 திருக்கொயிலுடையாருங் கொட்டிகளுடைய விருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும்
அவை யுழவு உழவும் பெறுர் [।*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது
ஆளும் ஒற்றிகொள்[ளுமவன்] . . . . யுமவன் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு இ-

4 ருபத்து நாற்க்கழைஞும் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞு பொ-
ன்னுந் தண்டப்படுவிது [।*] அவன்கு பாடுதாங்குமவனும் இத்தண்ட
மெ படுவிது [।*] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி . . . . . . இடையிடு கூடி
யிரு கூடி . . . . . . க்கு வாதிச்-

5 சொர்க்கு உழவடுத்து கொள்ளக்கடவர் [।*] அது விலக்குமவர்ளும் இ
த்தண்டமெ படுவிது [।*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிகிழ மைஞு
வண்ணமெ கணத்தாருஞ் சாந்தி செய்யுமவாளுங் கண்டுகொள்விது
[।*] உவச்சகள்

6 எழுதிது [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Vēṇāḍu was also administering Naṇṛuḷai-nāḍu, the *parishad*, the *gaṇa*

1 Registered as No. 48 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. This has been published incompletely — *T. A. S.*, Vol. II p. 40.

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and the *poduvāḷ* of Tirukkaḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu and the (temple) servants Kuṉṟaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Neḍumpuṟam and Ravi-Rāmaṉ of . . . . . . having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār*) at Tirukkaḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*kōṭṭikaḷ*). The *ūrāḷar, iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāḷ* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ūrāḷar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kaḻañju* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kaḻañju* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

...., ... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gaṇa* (members) and those who perform the *śānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachchar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkaḍittanam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṉ-Rāmaṉ of Muttūṟu made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhaṭārar*) at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.

Muttūṟu, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* in the following lines:

മുത്തൂററിച്ചെന്നിനിയ പുഴയും പിന്നിലിട്ടേച്ചു ഗംഗാ
മുത്തീൎത്ഥ്യു തപം വിരവൊടു സഖേ നാലുകോടിക്കു ചെൽക *v.* 125.

Text.[1]

I முத்தூற்று தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழாரர்க்கு நாநாழி அரி திருவமி-
2 ர்து உச்சையகத்து பந்திரடிக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்ச பூமி [।*] கண்ணன் கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
3 யங்ப்புரையிடமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியுமிவி ற்றில்[ப்]பாதி [॥*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṉ-Rāmaṉ of Muttūṟu set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāḻi* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhaṭāra*) of Tirukkaḍittāṉam are the following:—the whole of Kaṇṇaṉkari, and half of the lands (called) Eḍaiyaṉ-puraiyiḍam, Moḻiyar-vāḻkkai, Maṉṉa-vēli, and Maṇalōḍi.

1 Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. (same as No. 92 of 1086.)

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No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṇam. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādil-kāḍu by Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ of Kīḻumalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkuḍittāṇam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāḷ*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, made it over to Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkūḷam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, or 6 *kaḻañju* of pure gold.

Kīḻumalai-nāḍu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Toḍupuḻa and a portion of Mūvāttupuḻa. The capital of this independent principality was Kārikkōḍu near Toḍupuḻa and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.[1] It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkumkūṟu in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vaḍakkumkūṟu adopted the Rāja of Toḍupuḻa, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkuḷam is also a village in the Karimaṇṇūr pagudi of the Toḍupuḻa taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māḷuvakkōṉ made a gift in favour of the Vishṇu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tulā, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahā-śabda*. In it also, Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkuḷam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'குடுமுறையும் வருவித்து அறுகழைஞ்சு பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'அட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாற்றி கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துளைப்பொன் உரையும் துளையும் வழுவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tuḷai*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word '*vaḻuvādadu*', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 *Vide. Bhāshāpōshiṇi* for 1096, p. 15.

ആണ്ടും പുകം കൊല്ലമെഴുന്നൂറ്റമ്പത്തുനാലുങ്കൽ
അന്നവിടെനിന്ന തിങ്ങൾ രണ്ടു ചെന്ന വൃശ്ചികം
അന്നു മന്നികണ്ടർ മുടിമന്നനരുളാലെ ചെയ്യു
അമ്പിനോടെ തന്ന ഭൂമിദാനമിന്നിവിടെ
അരചനു രാജമണികണ്ഠവീരാ കീഴ്മലവാഴും കോവിൽ
അരുളുപോലെ കരുതണമെങ്കിൽ കരുതി വരുത്തി മേന്മേൽ — *Pall'ppāṭṭu* p. 76.

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here expressed by the positive word *varuvidu*, 'which possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்க கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திங்களாண்ட
திருவோணத்தின் னாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டார[ர்*]க்கு கிழு
மலையுடைய[2] கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கோன் நந்தாவிளக் கமைச்-
சான் [||*] இந் நந்தாவிளக்கி-

2 னு தன்னுடைய நெல்வாதில்காடாகின்ற செரிக்கல் [க]ரையும் வயனுங
காட[3] னுள்ளொடுங்க இதினுபடும தெல்லாங் கூட அட்டிக்கொடுத்-
தான் கிழுமலையுடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெல்-
வாதிலாகின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்-

3 தூரும் பொதுவாள்மாருங் கிழுமலை அறு[4] நாற்றுவரையு நன்றுழைநாட்டு
முந்நூற்றுவரையும் பணியுடைய[ர்]களையு முள்வைச்சு கொடிக்களமு-
டைய இயககங் கோவிந்தனுக்கு காராண்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் ஊ-
ரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும் [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் லூ[ரு]ம்

4 [கிழுமலை] அறுநாற்றுவரு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரு பணியுடை-
ய[ர்]களு[ம்*] பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] இதினுக்கு வருங் குறைவு குற்ற
முண்டாகில் விட்டிச்செல்லுத்திக்கக் கடவியர் [||*] இவ்விளக்கு கிழு-
ருவி நடையொடு [கூ]-

5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்தில்ப்பட்ட
தண்டமெய் படக்கவியர் [||*] கொடிக்களத்து இயக்கங் கோவிந்த-
[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டாரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியன் [||*] வி-
ளக்கினு கும்ப ஞா-

6 யிற்று உரொயணி நாள் பொதுவாள்மார் கையில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி லிடங்-
கழியால்ப் பந்நிரு கலங் சொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுக்கில் சூடு-
முறையும் வருவிது[5] அறு கழைஞ்ஞு நிறைப் பொன் கொடுப்பிது [||]
இயக்கன் கோவிந்தன்

7 உடையாரடியான் கண்டனிர[வி][6]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !.

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Ṛishabha, Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ of Kīḻumalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. For this perpetual lamp, Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 ய is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முன்னொடுங்க.

4 The syllables நாற்று are entered below the line, a mark being made after அறு.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வழுவாதது; although வருவிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in *l.* 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (*T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The records stops here.

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of Kīḻumalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādil-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ūrār* and *poduvāḷmār*[1] of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, the 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādil as a *kārāṇmai* to Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkaḷam.

The *ūrār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīḻumalai, 'the three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, the servants and the *poduvāḷmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkaḷam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāḷ*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaḻañju* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ, Uḍaiyāraḍiyāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ-Ravi . . .

No. 60—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.[2]

Nāṭya-sāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharataśāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Naṭasūtras of Silālin and Kriśāsva,[3] which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tamilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgēṟṟukādai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukādai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Pugār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*[4], reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār (*c.* 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tamil works, such as *Agattiyam*, *Śeyiṟṟiyam*, *Jayantam*, *Guṇanūl*, *Nāṭaka-tamiḻ-nūl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

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1 The phrase 'ஊரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும்' is repeated in the text.

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

3 *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XII, page 157.

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

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music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāḻ* and the *kuḻal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds[1] of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of aesthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdakkūttu*[2] which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kiḻinaṭam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōṟpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidūḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veṟiyāṭṭu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza:—

> 'கடையமயி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
> குடைதுடி மா லல்லியமல் கும்பஞ் சுடர்விழியாற்
> பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப் பாவையரன் பாண்டரங்கங்
> கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து'.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

> 'அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்க
> மல்லுட னின்றாட லாறு'
> and 'துடிகடையம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
> வடிவுடன் வீழ்ந்தாட லைந்து'.[3]

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

> 'படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையு ளெய்தக்
> குடை வீழ்த் தவர்மு னாடிய குடையும்,
> வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
> நீணில மளந்தோ னாடிய குடமும்' (ll. 52–45).

In his commentary on these lines, Aḍiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmaṇya[4] afte rhaving slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tuḍi*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

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1 namely, *Śokkam*, *Meykkattu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakam*.

2 எழுவகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை, யாட வகுத்தனனகத்தியன் முனே —page 81.

3 *Śilappadigāram*, page 89.

4 மாக்கட னடுவ-
ணீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்று
சூர்த்திறங் கடந்தோ னாடிய துடியும்— *ll.* 49 to 51 of *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*.
Compare also சேடனுக்கசண்டாளரக்கர்குல
மானவிட்டுகுன் டேழலைக்கடல்கள்
சேதவற்றனின் முடிவிற்கரமீ ராறுதோண் மேற் —*Tiruppugaḻ*.

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and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmaṇya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two[1] varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit Nāṭya-śāstras. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilian South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;[2] and we find him given an equal status with Vishṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary[3] deity of the *kuṟiñjinila-mākkaḷ* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tuḍi* (drum)[4] was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veṟiyāṭṭu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai* the first poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Murugaṉ and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvēḷ (Subrahmaṇya). These Kuḍaikkūttus are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṉ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Vishṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd[5]. In the Śaṅgam works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances[6] of the Vaishṇava-āḻvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Krishṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse[7] of Periyāḻvār's *Tirumoḻi*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

---

1 குடையொடு துடியிரண்டும் குமரனாடலாமே
அறுமுகத்தோ னாடல் குடை and துடியாடல் வேன்முருகனாடல் —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415.

3 சேயோன் மேயகாடுரை யுலகமும் —*Tolkāppiyam* (*Aha. s.* 5)

4 தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறிஞ்சிப்பறைபேர் —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.

5 மாயோன் மேயகாடுறை யுலகமும் —*Tōlkāppiyam*.
குன்றெடுத்து ஆநிரை காத்த பிரான், கோவலனாய்க் குழலூதி,
கன்றுகள் மேய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்துடன் வருவானை —*Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*.
இடவலகுடவலகோவல காவல —*Paripāḍal* 3-ம் பத்., *l.* 43.
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோனாடல் —*Silap.*, page 89.
எ-ந் திருமொழி.

6 குடங் கலந்தாடிக் குரவைமுன்கோத்த கூத்த —நாச்சியார் திருமொழி.
குடமாடு கூத்தன் கோவிந்தன்
குடமாடிக் கோவலனாய் மேவி என்னெஞ்சம்
இடமாகக் கொண்ட இறை —இயற்பா, 2-ம் திருவி, பா. 98.
குடமாடி இம்மண்ணும் விண்ணும் குலுங்க உலகளந்து
நடமாடிய பெருமான் —இயற்பா, திருவி, பா 38.
குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பரதத் தவத்தான் —திருவெங்கடமாலை, 48.

7 குடங்களெடுத் தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எங்கோவே —உ-ம்பத்து, எ-ம் திருமொழி.

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"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exhuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammāṉai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the [1]*Kuravaikkūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīḍā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindāvana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nilam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kāḷi, in the *Uṛiyaḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Krishṇa and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, *viz*, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōnagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa[2], despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, Gaṇēśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signallised his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties[3] attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kaṁsa and Kaṁsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds[4] were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kāḷiya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.[5]

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabhāratam* a work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1 தொடுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.
This dance has been described in the Āychchiyār-Kuravai in *Śilappadigāram*.

2 Compare the following description
மோடியோடவங்கிவெப்பு மங்கியோடவைங்கரன்
முடுகியோட முருகனோட முக்கணீசன் மக்களைத்
தேடியோடவாணனுயிரம் புயங்கள் குறுதிநீர்
சிந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே —திருவரங்கக்கலம்பகம், 39.

3 குடமல் லேயல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன்தன் கூத்து —*Chuḍāmaṇi*.

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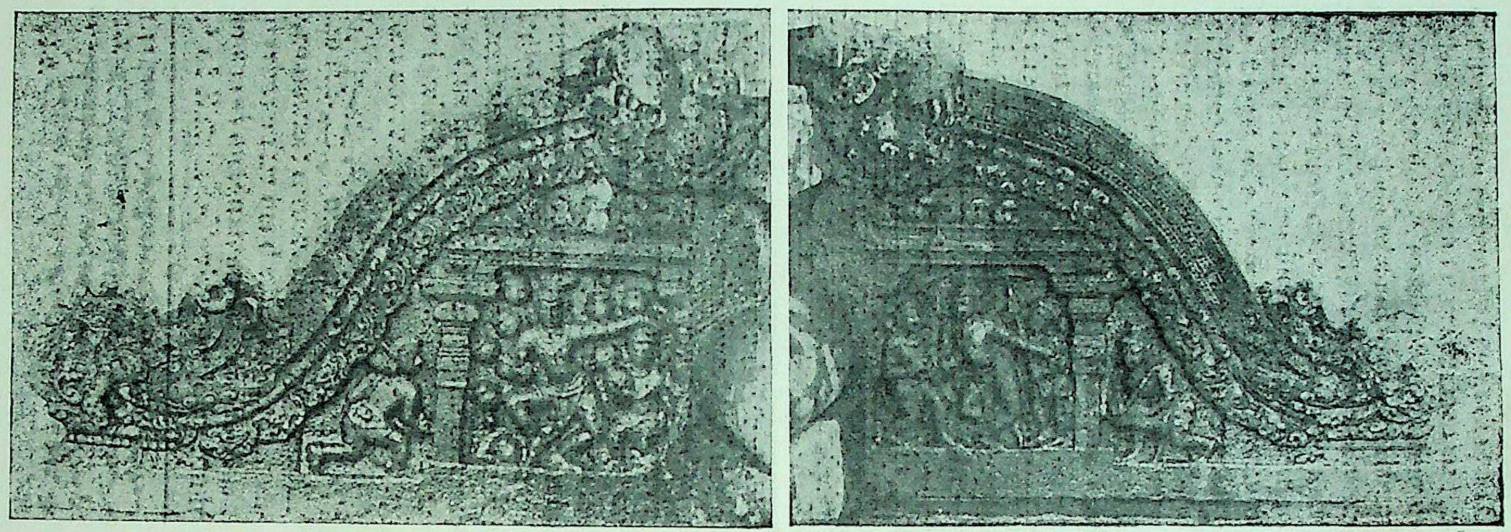
TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUKKADITTANAM.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

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The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittāṇam (Chenganachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chera king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (*c.* A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhisthāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, (the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛidaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *haṁsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel[5] representation[6] of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kerala, the unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2 + . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *upāna* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhutanārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittāṇam, which contains many

4 Compare the title of வெண்ணெய்க்கூத்தன்.

5 பையரவின் கூட்டிற் சிரம்பத நாட்டிருள் சேர்வு —*Tiruvēṅkaṭamālai.*
கானகமாமடுவிற் காளியனுச்சியிலே தாயநடம்பயிலும் சுந்தர—

6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkuttu*, while Nammāḻvār has described the god of this place as:
வைகுந்தம், கோயில்கொண்ட குடக்கூத்த அம்மானே ... verse 5.

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other records of the same Chēra sovereign. The stones comprising the basement having become slightly disturbed on account of age, the top portion of the first line of this epigraph is hidden away by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kumuda*-moulding, so that the writing could de deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had suspected and realised the importance of this record more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my reading and could not substantiate it by an indisputable facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of epigraphical evidence is entitled to much greater consideration than all the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palæographical and linguistic data, that had hitherto been advanced in attempts at determining this Chēra king's date.

This record is dated in the . . year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions, that while Gōvarddhana (this portion is mutilated)-Mārttāṇḍavarman was governing Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdaivarman, the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*), made some provision for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷā-festival beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete; but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the record furnishes is that Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdai was a feudatory of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman along with Gōvarddhana.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇāḍu ruler from his Māmbaḷḷi copper-plate[1] and his two Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr[2] stone inscriptions. Of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the other astronomical details give the English equivalent—A. D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇāḍu ruler reigned, and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only say that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkaḍittāṉam records, should have been reigning in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.; and as Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai M. A., L. L. B., I. S. O., has independently arrived at A. D. 978[3] for the king's accession from calculating the details furnished in the unpublished Tirunelli plate, this may be accepted as the correct date of this Chēra king. From another record which has been edited *ante*[4], we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of this Chēra sovereign, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was ruling over Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu, was put in charge of Vēṇāḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrīvallabhaṅ-Kōdai may have governed Vēṇāḍu from about Kollam 149 (A. D. 973) or somewhat earlier, till about the 14th year of Bhāskara-Ravi—*i. e.*, A. D. 992, and that after his death, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vēṇāḍu administration. As this latter ruler has figured in the Cochin plate[5] of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in his 2nd + 36th year,

1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-11.
2 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 22-5.
3 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 31-2.
4 See page 178 *ante*.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 66-9.

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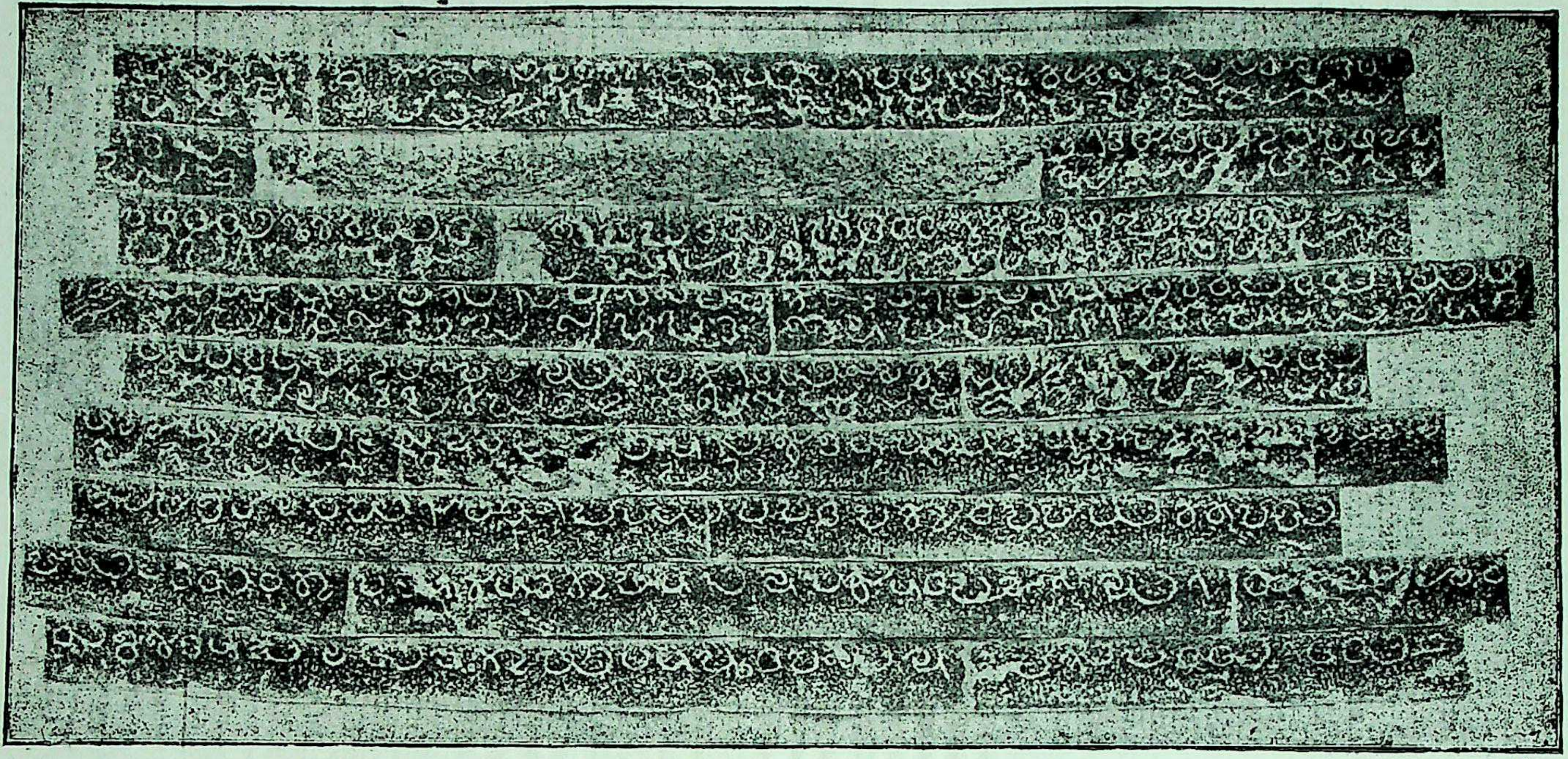
No. 61—TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: 2ND+ . . YEAR.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar. Scale: One-sevenths.

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the period of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa's reign as a Vēṇādu viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016.

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chera chronology cannot be overestimated, and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai and Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.[1] As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the positions of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|*] கோச்சிரி பாற்க்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யா-
ண்டிரண்டின்[3] . . . . ம்மார்த்தாண்டர் நன்றுழநாடு
வாழத் திருக்கடித்தானத்து உத்திரகணத்தாரும் நிழலும் பணியுங்
கூடி வேணாடுடைய சிரிவல்லவங்கோதைவர்ம்மர் அமைச்ச உத்திரவி-
ழா ஆட்டாண்டுங் கும்பஞாயிற்று கார்த்திகை கொடி நாட்டி நிய-
தி முந்நாழி நாழிப்பால் நூற்றுநாழி அரிகொண்டு அட்டி யூணுங் கறி-
யுந் நெய்யு மொண்டாய்ப் ப்ராமணரை ஊட்டிப் பத்து கூத்துமாடிச்சு
பணிமானிடத்தின்கு பண்டு கொடுக்கும் அரிசியும் கொடுத்து நாலாயி-
ரனா[ழியில்] வெற்றிலை கொண்டு நியதிக்கு யிட்டு பூதபலியுந் தூகி
உத்திரத்தின்[4]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the . . opposite the second year of king Śrī Bhāskara-Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvarddhana]-Mārttāṇḍavarmar was administering Nanrulai-nāḍu, the *uttaraganattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival) of Tirukkaḍittānam, the Government officers (*nilal*) and servants (*pani*) having assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the Uttiraviḷā (Panguni-Uttiram festival) which Śrīvallabhān-Kōdaivarmar the ruler of Vēṇādu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha, brahmans shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the measure holding three *nāḷi*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *kūttu* (dramatic) performances shall be played, and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice; and out of this four thousand *nāḷi* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the *bali* offerings shall also be strewn; and on the day of Uttiram . . . . . .

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 220-3.
2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. E.
3 The missing syllables must be கோவ ... மாண்டு கோவர்த்தன.
4 The writing stops here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the prākāra.

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No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tulā, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḻāra at Tirukkaḍittāṉam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmans in the temple and for 12 *nāḻi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கொப்பரற்சுர இரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்-
ற [2]மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நால்பத்தெட்டும்சென்ற துலாத்தில்
வியாழந் நின்ற [சித்தி]ரை விழுவி நாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழா-
ரர்க்கு முளக்காட்டு இயக்கங் கொவிநங் அமைச்ச செல்வாவிது [।*]
ஒரு [ந]ந்தாவிளக்கும் பந்திருவர் . . . . . . அமாவாதிநாள்பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தும் இச்செலவின் . . . .
யில் . [விழா]காப்பவரளிடை நாலாயிரத்தெண்ணூறு பறை நெல்வி-
னு [தா]ன் [அ]ட்[டின] நா[னூற்று]க்கலம் நிலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழாரர்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கங் கொவிந்நன் இச்செலவு . . .
. . . . . றுநூற்று . . . . செலுத்த[3]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḻārar of Tirukkaḍittāṉam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tulā, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men . . . . . and for twelve *nāḻi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkaṉ-Gōvindaṉ gave with libation (of water) to . . . . . . for four thousand and eight hundred *paṟai* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense . . . . . hundred . . . . . shall provide.

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1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. E.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.

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